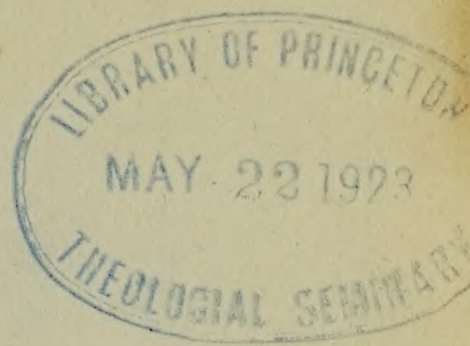


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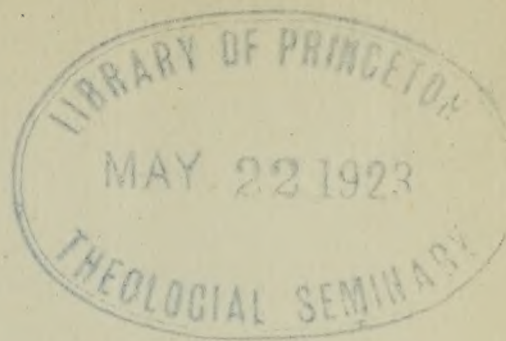


The ^{✓✓}Didache.

A collection of the texts,
translations, reviews, etc.
of the Didache, made by
Dr. Benjamin B. Warfield.

vol. 1.

1.
The Didache



ΔΙΔΑΧΗ
ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

✓TEACHING
OF
THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

*RECENTLY DISCOVERED AND PUBLISHED BY PHILOTHEOS
BRYENNIOS, METROPOLITAN OF NICOMEDIA.*

EDITED WITH A TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION
AND NOTES,

BY
✓
ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK
AND
✓
FRANCIS BROWN,

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INTRODUCTION.

IN 1875 Philotheos Bryennios, then Metropolitan of Serrae (now Serres), in ancient Mesopotamia, published the two Epistles of Clement of Rome, from a manuscript discovered by him in the Library of the Most Holy Sepulchre in Fanar of Constantinople. The last six chapters (60–65) of the First Epistle, and the last eight sections (13–20) of the so-called Second Epistle, had never been published before. The date of the manuscript is 1056 A.D. As described by the finder, “it is an octavo volume, written on

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parchment, in cursive characters, and consists of 120 leaves." First comes Chrysostom's Synopsis of the Books of the Old and New Testament; then the Epistle of Barnabas; then the two Epistles of Clement; then the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles; then the Epistle of Mary of Cassobelae to Ignatius; followed by eight Epistles of Ignatius (the current seven, besides one to the Virgin Mary).

The "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*, occupies leaves 76-80 of the manuscript. It now seems strange to us that the document thus announced attracted so little attention. This same Bryennios, now Metropolitan of Nicomedia, in Asia Minor, has again surprised the literary world by publishing, with an abundance of learned illustration, this long-lost document. It is printed in Constantinople, and the date of publication is 1883. The genuineness of the document can hardly be doubted. It is cited by Clement of Alexandria in his First Stroma; by Eusebius,

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who speaks of it (Hist. iii. 25) as τῶν Ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαί; and by Athanasius in his 39th Festal Epistle. Bickell and Gebhardt had recently argued that there must have been some such document underlying both the Seventh Book of the Apostolic Constitutions and the Apostolic Epitome. In 1882 Krauzky undertook, from these sources, to recover and reconstruct the embedded earlier and simpler document; and with a success of the most pronounced and brilliant character, as now tested by the work just published.

This document belongs undoubtedly to the second century; possibly as far back as 120 A.D., hardly later than 160 A.D. The whole tone of it is archaic. It contradicts nothing belonging to that age; corroborates some things which may henceforth be more strongly emphasized; and adds some things for which we may well be very profoundly grateful.

The present editors are happy to be able to put this "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," so

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promptly before the American public. The text has been carefully edited. The translation will be found to be studiously literal. A few notes have been added, which, it is hoped, may be of service both to students and to general readers.

ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK.

FRANCIS BROWN.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
NEW YORK CITY, March 20, 1884.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ

ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ
ΤΩΝ
ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

Διδαχή Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς
ἔθνεσιν.

Κεφ. α'. ¹ Ὅδοι δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανά-
του, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν.
5 ² Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον,
ἀγαπήσεις τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτε-
ρον, τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· πάντα δὲ ὅσα
ἐὰν θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ
ποιεῖς. ³ Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστὶν
10 αὕτη· Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ
προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε
δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς· ποία γὰρ χάρις,

TEACHING

OF THE

TWELVE APOSTLES.

TEACHING OF THE LORD, THROUGH THE TWELVE APOSTLES, TO THE NATIONS.

CHAP. I.—Two ways there are, one of life and one of death, but there is a ^{much} great difference between the two ways. The way of life, then, is this: First, thou shalt love the God who made thee; secondly, thy neighbor as thyself; and all things whatsoever thou wouldst not have befall thee, thou, too, do not to another. Now of these words the teaching is this: Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for them that persecute you: for what thank *have ye* if ye

15 εὖ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς ; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ
 ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν ; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς
 20 μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν. Ἀπέχου
 τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν. Ἐάν
 τις σοι δῶ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα,
 στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος·
 25 εὖ ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἕν, ὑπάγε μετ' αὐ-
 τοῦ δύο· εὖ ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δὸς αὐτῷ
 καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· εὖ λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν,
 μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι. Παντὶ τῷ αἰ-
 τοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει
 30 δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων.
 25 Μακάριος ὁ δίδους κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἁθῶος
 γὰρ ἐστίν· οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ
 χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἁθῶος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ
 μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς
 35 τί, ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ
 30 ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν μέχρις
 οὗ ἀποδῶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην. Ἀλλὰ καὶ
 περὶ τούτου δὴ εἴρηται· Ἰδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύ-
 νη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι
 δῶς.

35 Κεφ. β'. Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς Οὐ φονεύσεις,
 οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις,

TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

love them that love you? Do not the nations also the same? But love ye them that hate you and ye shall have no enemy. Abstain from the fleshly and worldly lusts. If any one give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect; if any one compel thee to go one mile, go with him two; if any one take thy cloak, give him thy tunic also; if any one take from thee what is thine, ask it not back; for indeed thou canst not. To every one that asketh thee give, and ask not back; for to all the Father desires to give of his own gracious gifts. Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment; for he is guiltless; wo to him that taketh; for if, indeed, one taketh who hath need, he shall be guiltless; but he who hath no need shall give account, why he took, and for what purpose, and coming under arrest shall be examined concerning what he did, and shall not go out thence until he pay the last farthing. But it hath been also said concerning this *matter*: Let thine alms sweat in thy hands, until thou knowest to whom thou shouldst give.

CHAP. II.—Now the second commandment of the teaching *is*: Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys, thou shalt not

οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ
 φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν ἀπο-
 κτενεῖς. Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον,
 40 οὐκ ἐπιιορκήσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ κακο-
 λογήσεις, οὐ μνησικακήσεις. Οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμων
 οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσ-
 σία. Οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής, οὐ κενός,
 ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει. Οὐκ ἔσῃ πλεονέκ-
 45 τής οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτῆς οὐδὲ κακοήθης
 οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος. Οὐ λήψῃ βουλήν πονηρὰν
 κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου. Οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄν-
 θρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσ-
 εύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

50 **Κεφ. γ΄.** Τέκνον μου, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ
 ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ· Μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος·
 ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν θόνον· μηδὲ ζηλω-
 τῆς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τού-
 των ἀπάντων θόνοι γεννῶνται. | Τέκνον μου, μὴ
 55 γίνου ἐπιθυμητής· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς
 τὴν πορνείαν· μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφ-
 θαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχεῖαι γεν-
 νῶνται. | Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος·
 ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν· μηδὲ ἐπα-
 60 οιδὸς μηδὲ μαθηματικὸς μηδὲ περικαθαίρων,

TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

commit fornication, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not practise magic, thou shalt not use sorcery, thou shalt not slay a child by abortion, nor what is begotten shalt thou destroy. Thou shalt not lust after the things of thy neighbor, thou shalt not forswear thyself, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not revile, thou shalt not bear malice. Thou shalt not be doubled-minded nor doubled-tongued ; for a snare of death is the double tongue. | Thy speech shall not be false, nor empty, but filled with doing. Thou shalt not be covetous, nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor malicious, nor arrogant. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbor. | Thou shalt hate no man, but some thou shalt reprove, and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love above thy life.

CHAP. III.—My child, flee from every evil thing, and from everything like it. Be not inclined to anger, for anger leadeth to murder ; nor jealous, nor contentious, nor passionate ; for of all these murders are begotten. My child, become not lustful ; for lust leadeth to fornication ; nor foul-mouthed, nor lofty-eyed ; for of all these things adulteries are begotten. My child, become not an omen-watcher ; since it leadeth into idolatry ; nor an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a purifier, nor

μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάν-
των εἰδωλολατρεία γεννᾶται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ
γίνου ψεύστης· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς
τὴν κλοπὴν· μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος·
65 ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται. Τέκ-
νον μου, μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν
βλασφημίαν· μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ πονηρόφρων·
ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται.
70 Ἰσθι δὲ πραῦς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι
τὴν γῆν. Γίνου μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ
ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων τοὺς
λόγους διὰ παντός, οὓς ἤκουσας. Οὐκ ὑψώσεις
σεαυτὸν οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. Οὐ
κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ
75 μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ. Τὰ
συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσ-
δέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ Θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

Κεφ. δ'. Τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ
Θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ
80 αὐτὸν ὡς Κύριον· ὁθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται,
ἐκεῖ Κύριός ἐστιν. Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν
τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαύῃ τοῖς
λόγοις αὐτῶν. Οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύ-
σεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ

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be willing to look upon these things ; for of all these things idolatry is begotten. My child, become not a liar ; since lying leads to theft ; nor avaricious, nor vain-glorious ; for of all these things thefts are begotten. My child, become not a murmurer ; since it leads to blasphemy ; nor presumptuous, nor evil-minded ; for of all these things blasphemies are begotten. But be meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth. Become long-suffering and pitiful and guileless and gentle and good, and tremble continually at the words which thou hast heard. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, nor permit overboldness to thy soul. Thy soul shall not cleave to the high, but with the righteous and lowly thou shalt dwell. The things that befall thee accept as well-wrought, knowing that without God nothing occurs.

CHAP. IV.—My child, him that speaks to thee the word of God remember night and day, and thou shalt honor him as the Lord ; for where that which pertaineth to the Lord is spoken there the Lord is. And thou shalt seek out daily the faces of the saints that thou mayst be refreshed by their words. Thou shalt not desire division, but shalt make peace between those who contend ; thou

- 85 πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν. Οὐ δι-
 ψυχήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ. Μὴ γίνου πρὸς
 μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ
 δοῦναι συσπῶν· ἐὰν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου
 δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. Οὐ διστάσεις
 90 δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώση γὰρ τίς
 ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. Οὐκ
 ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκοινωνήσεις
 δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι·
 εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε, πόσῳ
 95 μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς; Οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά
 σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου,
 ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ
 Θεοῦ. Οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκη,
 τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρίᾳ
 100 σου, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμ-
 φοτέροις Θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον
 καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοίμασεν.
 Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δούλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις
 ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ Θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνη καὶ φόβῳ.
 105 Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἀρεσ-
 τὸν τῷ Κυρίῳ. Οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς
 Κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἅ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστι-
 θεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. Ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ
 τὰ παραπτώματά σου, καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ

TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

shalt judge justly, thou shalt not respect persons in convicting for transgressions. Thou shalt not hesitate whether it shall be or not. Become not *one who* for taking stretches out the hands, but for giving draws them in; if thou hast *anything*, by thy hands thou shalt give a ransom for thy sins. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor when giving shalt thou murmur, for thou shalt know who is the good dispenser of the recompense. Thou shalt not turn away the needy, but shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say they are thine own; for if ye are partners in that which is imperishable, how much more in the perishable things? Thou shalt not take off thy hand from thy son and from thy daughter, but from youth thou shalt teach *them* the fear of God. Thou shalt not lay commands in thy bitterness upon thy slave or handmaid, who hope in the same God, lest they perchance shalt not fear the God who is over *you* both; for he cometh not to call *men* according to the appearance, but to those whom the Spirit hath made ready. And ye, slaves, ye shall be subject to your lords, as to God's image, in modesty and fear. Thou shalt hate every hypocrisy, and whatever is not pleasing to the Lord. Thou shalt by no means forsake the Lord's commandments, but shalt guard what thou hast received, neither adding to it nor taking from it. In the church

110 προσευχήν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. Αὕτη
ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

Κεφ. ε'. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον
πάντων πονηρά ἐστι καὶ κατάρας μεστή· φόνοι,
μοιχεῖαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλο-
115 λατρεῖαι, μαγεῖαι, φαρμακεῖαι, ἄρπαγαί, ψευδο-
μαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος, ὑπερ-
ηφανία, κακία, αὐθάδεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολο-
γία, ζηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, ὕψος, ἀλαζονεία·
διώκεται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶν-
120 τες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιο-
σύνης, οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ οὐδὲ κρίσει δι-
καίᾳ, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ'
εἰς τὸ πονηρόν· ὧν μακρὰν πραΰτης καὶ ὑπο-
μονή, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες ἀνταπό-
125 δομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ
καταπόνουμένῳ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα
αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος Θεοῦ,
ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες
τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενή-
130 των ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι· ῥυσθείητε,
τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.

Κεφ. ς'. Ὅρα μή τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ
τῆς διδαχῆς, ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς Θεοῦ σε διδάσκει.

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thou shalt confess thy transgressions, and shalt not come forward for thy prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.

CHAP. V.—Now the way of death is this: first of all it is evil, and full of curse; murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, sorceries, robberies, false testimonies, hypocrisies, duplicity, craft, arrogance, vice, presumptuousness, greed, foul speech, jealousy, over-boldness, loftiness, pretence; persecutors of the good, hating truth, loving falsehood, knowing not the reward of righteousness, not cleaving to *that which* is good nor to righteous judgment, on the watch not for good but for evil; far from whom are meekness and humility, loving vanities, pursuing revenge, not pitying a poor *man*, not laboring for the distressed, not knowing him that made them, murderers of children, destroyers of the image of God, turning away the needy, oppressing the afflicted, advocates of the rich, lawless judges of the poor, universal sinners: may ye be delivered, children, from all these.

CHAP. VI.—See that no one lead thee astray from this way of the teaching, because apart from God does

135 Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν
 τοῦ Κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνῃ
 τοῦτο ποίει. Περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ δύνασαι
 βάστασον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσ-
 εχε· λατρεία γάρ ἐστι Θεῶν νεκρῶν.

Κεφ. ζ'. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε·
 140 ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ
 ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου
 Πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς
 ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ
 δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότερα
 145 μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρις ὕδωρ εἰς
 ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.
 Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω ὁ βαπ-
 τίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι δύ-
 νανται· κελεύσεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζό-
 150 μενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.

Κεφ. η'. Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν
 ὑποκριτῶν· νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρα σαββά-
 των καὶ πέμπτη· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετ-
 155 ράδα καὶ παρασκευήν. Μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε
 ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κύριος
 ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε·

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he teach thee. For if thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou art not able, what thou art able, that do. And concerning food, what thou art able, bear; but of that offered to idols, beware exceedingly; for it is a worship of dead gods.

CHAP. VII.—Now concerning baptism, thus baptize ye: having first uttered all these things, baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in running water. ✓ But if thou hast not running water, baptize in other water; and if thou canst not in cold, *then* in warm. ✓ But if thou hast neither, pour water upon the head thrice, into the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit. But before the baptism let the baptizer and the baptized fast, and whatever others can; but the baptized thou shalt command to fast for two or three days before.

CHAP. VIII.—But let not your fastings be appointed in common with the hypocrites; for they fast on the second day of the week and on the fifth; but do ye fast during the fourth, and the preparation *day*. Nor pray ye like the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in his

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἀγιασθήτω τὸ
 ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενη-
 160 θήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς·
 τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμε-
 ρον καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ
 ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ
 εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς
 165 ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ
 δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω
 προσεύχεσθε.

Κεφ. θ'. Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε·
 πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι,
 Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ
 170 τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ
 τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Περὶ
 δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ
 ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως, ἧς ἐγνώρισας
 ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς
 175 τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ὡςπερ ἦν τοῦτο κλάσμα διεσκορ-
 πισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὁρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένε-
 νετο ἓν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ
 τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν·
 ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ
 180 Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω

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gospel, thus pray: Our Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth; our daily bread give us to-day, and forgive us our debt as we also forgive our debtors, and bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil *one*; for thine is the power and the glory forever. Three times in the day pray ye thus.

CHAP. IX.—Now concerning the Eucharist, thus give thanks; first, concerning the cup: We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee be the glory forever. And concerning the broken *bread*: We thank thee, our Father, for the life and the knowledge which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee be the glory forever. Just as this broken *bread* was scattered over the hills and having been gathered together became one, so let thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever. But let no one eat

μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ
 βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ
 τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ Κύριος· Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς
 κυσί.

- 185 Κεφ. ι'. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστή-
 σατε· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς
 καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίσ-
 τεως καὶ ἀθανασίας· ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ
 190 Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς
 αἰῶνας· Σὺ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, ἔκτισας τὰ
 πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, τροφήν τε καὶ
 ἕποτον ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἵνα
 σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευ-
 195 ματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ
 τοῦ παιδός σου. Πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν
 σοι ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
 Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσα-
 σθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι
 200 αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου, καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ
 τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν
 σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοῦ
 ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
 Ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος.

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or drink of your Eucharist, except those baptized into the Lord's name ; for in regard to this the Lord hath said : Give not that which is holy to the dogs.

CHAP. X.—Now after ye are filled thus do ye give thanks : We thank thee, holy Father, for thy holy name, which thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant ; to thee be the glory forever. Thou, Almighty Master, didst create all things for thy name's sake ; both food and drink thou didst give to men for enjoyment, in order that they might give thanks to thee ; but to us thou hast graciously given spiritual food and drink and eternal life through thy servant. Before all things, we thank thee that thou art powerful ; to thee be the glory forever. Remember, Lord, thy church, to deliver it from every evil and to make it perfect in thy love, and gather it from the four winds, *it*, the sanctified, into thy kingdom, which thou hast prepared for it ; for thine is the power and the glory forever. Let grace come and let this world pass away. Hosanna to

205 Ὡσαὶνὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβίδ. Εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω· μαρاناθά. Ἀμήν. Τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν.

Κεφ. ια'. Ὃς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα,
 210 τὰ προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεῖς διδάσκη ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνῶσιν Κυρίου, δέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς Κύριον. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστο-
 215 τόλων καὶ προφητῶν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, οὕτω ποιήσατε. Πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς Κύριος· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ἦ χρεία, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνῃ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. Ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰμὴ ἄρτον ἕως οὗ αὐλισθῇ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῇ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. Καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθή-
 220 σεται, αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. Οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχῃ τοὺς τρόπους Κυρίου. Ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ

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the son of David ! Whoever is holy, let him come ; whoever is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen. But permit the prophets to give thanks as much as they will.

CHAP. XI.—Now whoever cometh and teacheth you all these things, before spoken, receive him ; but if the teacher himself turn aside and teach another teaching, so as to overthrow *this*, do not hear him ; but *if he teach* so as to promote righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord. But in regard to the apostles and prophets, according to the ordinance of the gospel, so do ye. And every apostle who cometh to you, let him be received as the Lord ; but he shall not remain *more than* one day ; if, however, there be need, then the next *day* ; but if he remain three days, he is a false prophet. But when the apostle departeth, let him take nothing except bread enough till he lodge *again* ; but if he ask money, he is a false prophet. And every prophet who speaketh in the spirit, ye shall not try nor judge ; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. But not every one that speaketh in the spirit is a prophet, but *only* if he have the ways of the Lord. So from their ways shall the false prophet

230 ὁ προφήτης. Καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τρά-
 πεζαν ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εἰδὲ
 μήγε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί· πᾶς δὲ προφήτης
 διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἂ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ,
 ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκι-
 235 μασμένος, ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμι-
 κὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς
 ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ Θεοῦ γὰρ
 ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ
 ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται. Ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν πνεύματι·
 240 Δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἕτερα τίνα, οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε
 αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων ὑστερούντων εἴπῃ
 δοῦναι, μηδεὶς αὐτὸν κρινέτω.

Κεφ. ιβ'. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου δεχ-
 θήτω, ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε·
 σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔχετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν. Εἰμὲν
 245 παρόδιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ ὅσον
 δύνασθε· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ
 τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἐὰν ᾖ ἀνάγκη. Εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς καθῆσαι, τεχνίτης ὢν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ
 φαγέτω· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν
 250 ὑμῶν προνοήσατε, πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσε-
 ται χριστιανός. Εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν, χρισ-
 τέμπορός ἐστι· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

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and the prophet be known. And no prophet who orders a meal, in the spirit, eateth of it, unless indeed he is a false prophet; and every prophet who teacheth the truth, if he do not that which he teacheth, is a false prophet. But every prophet, proved, true, acting with a view to the mystery of the church on earth, but not teaching *others* to do all that he himself doeth, shall not be judged among you; for with God he hath his judgment; for so did the ancient prophets also. But whoever, in the spirit, says: Give me money, or something else, ye shall not hear him; but if for others in need, he bids *you* give, let no one judge him.

CHAP. XII.—But let every one that cometh in the Lord's name be received, but afterward ye shall test and know him; for ye shall have understanding, right and left. If he who comes is a traveller, help him as much as ye can; but he shall not remain with you, unless for two or three days, if there be necessity. But if he will take up his abode among you, being an artisan, let him work and so eat; but if he have no trade, provide, according to your understanding, that no idler live with you as a Christian. But if he will not act according to this, he is one who makes gain out of Christ; beware of such.

Κεφ. ιγ'. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινός, θέλων καθῆσαι
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. Ὡσαύ-
 255 τως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐ-
 τός, ὥςπερ ὁ ἐργάτης, τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. Πᾶ-
 σαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ ἄλωνος,
 βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων λαβὼν δώσεις τοῖς προ-
 φήταις· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν.
 260 Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην, δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς.
 Ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῆς, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς κατὰ
 τὴν ἐντολήν. Ὡσαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου
 ἀνοίξας, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς τοῖς προφήταις·
 ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος
 265 λαβὼν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ὡς ἂν σοι δόξη, δὸς κατὰ
 τὴν ἐντολήν.

Κεφ. ιδ'. Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ Κυρίου συναχθέντες κλά-
 σατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε προσεξομολογη-
 σάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ
 270 ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾗ. Πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν
 μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῖν, ἕως
 οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν·
 αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κυρίου· Ἐν
 παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν
 275 καθαρὰν· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί, λέγει Κύρι-
 ος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

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CHAP. XIII.—But every true prophet who will settle among you is worthy of his support. Likewise a true teacher, he also is worthy, like the workman, of his support. Every firstfruit, then, of the products of wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets; for they are your high-priests. But if ye have no prophet, give *it* to the poor. If thou makest a baking of bread, take the first *of it* and give according to the commandment. In like manner when thou openest a jar of wine or oil, take the first *of it* and give to the prophets; and of money and clothing and every possession take the first, as seems right to thee, and give according to the commandment.

CHAP. XIV.—But on the Lord's day do ye assemble and break bread, and give thanks, after confessing your transgressions, in order that your sacrifice may be pure. But every one that hath controversy with his friend, let him not come together with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be profaned. For this is that which was spoken by the Lord: At every place and time, bring me a pure sacrifice; for a great king am I, saith the Lord, and my name is marvellous among the nations.

Κεφ. ιε'. Χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ
 διακόνους ἀξίους τοῦ Κυρίου, ἄνδρας πραεῖς καὶ
 ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους·
 280 ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργί-
 αν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. Μὴ οὖν
 ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημέ-
 νοι ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν
 285 εἰρήνῃ, ὥς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· καὶ παντὶ
 ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου μηδεὶς λαλείτω μηδὲ
 παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκουέτω, ἕως οὗ μετανοήσῃ. Τὰς δὲ
 εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς
 πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὥς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγε-
 290 λίῳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

Κεφ. ις'. Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· οἱ λύχνοι
 ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ
 ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι· οὐ γὰρ
 οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται.
 295 Πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκον-
 τα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς
 ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ
 ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῇτε. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχά-
 ταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται
 300 καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα

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CHAP. XV.—Now appoint for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and not avaricious, and upright and proved; for they, too, render you the service of the prophets and teachers. Despise them not, therefore; for they are the ones who are honored of you, together with the prophets and teachers.

And reprove one another, not in anger, but in peace, as ye have *it* in the gospel; and to every one who erreth against another, let no one speak, nor let him hear *anything* from you, until he repent. But your prayers and your alms and all your deeds so do ye, as ye have *it* in the gospel of our Lord.

CHAP. XVI.—Watch for your life's sake; let your lamps not go out, and your loins not be relaxed, but be ready; for ye know not the hour in which our Lord cometh. But ye shall come together often, and seek the things which befit your souls; for the whole time of your faith *thus far* will not profit you, if ye do not become perfect in the last time. For in the last days the false prophets and the corruptors shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love

εἰς λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος·
 αὐξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας, μισήσουσιν ἀλλή-
 λους καὶ διώξουσι καὶ παραδώσουσι, καὶ τότε
 305 φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος ὡς υἱὸς Θεοῦ καὶ ποι-
 ήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσε-
 ται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα, ἃ
 οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος. Τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας
 καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολούνται,
 310 οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθή-
 σονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος. Καὶ τότε
 φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον,
 σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον
 φωνῆς σάλπιγγος καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νε-
 315 κρῶν· οὐ πάντων δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐρρέθη· Ἦξει ὁ
 Κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. Τότε
 ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν Κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω
 τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

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shall be turned into hate; for when lawlessness increaseth they shall hate one another, and shall persecute and shall deliver up, and then shall appear the world-deceiver as the Son of God, and shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be given into his hands, and he shall commit iniquities which have never yet been done since the beginning. Then all created men shall come into the fire of trial, and many shall be made to stumble and shall perish. But they that endure in their faith shall be saved/ from \this curse. And then shall appear the signs of the truth; first the sign of an opening in heaven, then the sign of the trumpet's sound, and thirdly, the resurrection of the dead; yet not of all, but as it hath been said: The Lord will come and all the saints with him. Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.

USE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES IN THE “TEACHING.”¹

OLD TESTAMENT.

	LINE.		LINE.
*Deut. 5 : 17-19.....	35 f.	*Sirach 4 : 31.....	86 f.
*Tobit 4 : 15.....	7 f.	Zech. 14 : 5.....	315 f.
*Sirach 2 : 4	75 f.	Mal. 1 : 11, 14.....	273 f.
*Sirach 4 : 5	91 f.		

NEW TESTAMENT.

	LINE.		LINE.
*Matt. 5 : 5.....	69 f.	*Matt. 24 : 3-4.....	298 f.
*Matt. 5 : 22.....	284 f.	*Matt. 24 : 24-31.....	313 f.
*Matt. 5 : 26.....	30 f.	*Matt. 24 : 31.....	200 f.
*Matt. 5 : 39-48.....	16 f.	*Matt. 24 : 42, 44.....	291 f.
Matt. 6 : 5-13.....	155 f.	Matt. 28 : 19.....	140 f.
*Matt. 6 and 7.....	289	*Luke 6 : 27-35.....	10
Matt. 7 : 6.....	183 f.	*Luke 9 : 1-6	215 f.
*Matt. 7 : 15-23.....	215 f.	*Luke 10 : 4-21	215 f.
*Matt. 10 : 5-12.....	215 f.	Luke 11 : 2-4	155 f.
*Matt. 10 : 10.....	256	*Luke 11 and 12	289 f.
*Matt. 12 : 31.....	224 f.	*Luke 12 : 35	291 f.
*Matt. 18 : 15-17.....	284	*Acts 4 : 32.....	92 f.
*Matt. 18 : 21-35.....	284	*Eph. 6 : 5, 9.....	103 f.
Matt. 21 : 9.....	205	*1 Thess. 5 : 22.....	50 f.
Matt. 22 : 27-39.....	5 f.	*1 Pet. 2 : 11.....	15 f.

¹ This table is that of Bryennios, who adds: “By this sign [*] are distinguished the passages which are not verbally cited in the ‘Teaching,’ and those to which the ‘Teaching’ simply refers, with the words, ‘As the Lord commanded in the gospel.’” —EDS.

NOTES.

THE TITLE.

Another title is *Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*, "Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles." Athanasius also calls it *διδαχὴ*. But Eusebius (Hist. iii. 25) uses the plural, *διδαχαί*. And Clement of Alexandria cites it as *γραφὴ*.

CHAP. I.

P. 2, l. 8.—"do not to another"] The Golden Rule occurs both here and in the Apostolic Constitutions (vii. 2), in a negative form, as in the teachings of Confucius.

P. 2, l. 11.—"fast for them that persecute you"] The emphasis put upon fasting, here and elsewhere in this document, is no sign of Montanism, since fasting was much emphasized in the early Church, and Montanism itself was, in this respect, only an exaggeration of common usage.

P. 4, l. 15.—"ye shall have no enemy"] Suggested, apparently, by 1 Pet. iii. 13, "And who is he that will harm you, if ye be zealous of that which is good?"

P. 4, l. 22.—"for indeed thou canst not"] Because Christians were forbidden to go to law before the unrighteous," 1 Cor. vi. 1.

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P. 4, l. 32.—“Let thine alms sweat in thy hands, until thou knowest to whom thou shouldst give”] A very graphic injunction of carefulness in giving.

CHAP. II.

P. 4, l. 36.—“thou shalt not corrupt boys”] The *παιδεραστία* of Classic writers, referred to by Paul in Rom. i. 27.

P. 6, l. 38.—“by abortion”] Another heathen abomination.

P. 6, l. 42, 43.—*διγλωσσία*] This noun does not occur in Classic Greek, nor in the New Testament, but is found, together with the entire sentence in which it here stands, in the Epistle of Barnabas, Chap. xix. There are many other correspondences between that epistle and the present document.

P. 6, l. 44.—“filled with doing”] *i.e.*, works, deeds, as in Matt. xvi. 27.

CHAP. III.

P. 6, l. 60.—“nor a purifier”] Referring to some kind of superstitious lustration, perhaps by fire, as in Lev. xviii. 21; Deut. xviii. 10.

CHAP. IV.

P. 10, l. 87.—“for taking stretches out the hands, but for giving draws them in”] Graphic description of taking and giving.

P. 10, l. 88.—“by thy hands thou shalt give a ransom for thy sins”] Beneficence is better than sacrifice. See Prov. xvi. 6, “By mercy and truth iniquity is purged.”

P. 10, l. 98.—“thy slave”] As in the New Testament, so here, the relation of master and slave is not denounced, but regulated.

NOTES.

CHAP. V.

This catalogue of evil things pertaining to the "way of death," reflects only too faithfully the dreadful corruption of the ancient civilization.

CHAP. VI.

P. 14, l. 136.—"And concerning food, what thou art able, bear"] Nothing is unclean of itself, as Paul says in Rom. xiv. 14. And again in 1 Tim. iv. 4, "For every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be rejected, if it be received with thanksgiving."

CHAP. VII.

P. 14, l. 139.—"Now, concerning baptism . . . in running water"] *ἐν ῥδᾶτι ζῶντι*, literally "in living water," water in motion, either as in a fountain, or as in a stream. A picture in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus, dating from about the year 200 A.D., represents a youth standing ankle-deep in water, and receiving baptism by the pouring of water upon his head. [See Northcote and Brownlow's "Roma Sotteranea," Part II., Plate XV.] The passage before us apparently recommends just this mode of performing the rite. If this should be impracticable, then fresh cold water might be similarly used [in a font]. If cold water could not be had, warm water would answer. If neither cold nor warm water in sufficient quantity (ankle-deep) could be had, then pouring only (the feet resting on the floor or ground) would suffice. This last is now the Syrian mode of baptism, and probably always has been. This fact, ascertained by the Crusaders (in the third Crusade, 1189-92), and made known through them in Europe, would help to account for Aquinas's definition of baptism, so different from that of Peter Lombard

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about a century before. Lombard's definition requires immersion; Aquinas's definition permits either immersion, pouring, or sprinkling. The Seventh Book of the Apostolic Constitutions, at this point (Section xxii.), says nothing about the mode, but prescribes anointing with oil, both before and after baptism. Fasting is enjoined in both documents.

CHAP. VIII.

P. 14, l. 154.—*παρασκευήν*] Cf. John xix. 14.

Wednesday and Friday are named as days of fasting, instead of Monday and Thursday, as observed by "the hypocrites." The Lord's Prayer ends with the Doxology, as in Matthew, instead of its being omitted, as in Luke.

CHAPS. IX., X.

These two chapters contain a brief eucharistic liturgy.

CHAP. XI.

Apostles and Prophets are described as mere evangelists, or itinerant preachers, who were not expected to remain in one place more than a single day.

P. 20, l. 218.—*εἰ μὴ* has been inserted in the translation before *ἡμέραν*. So Harnack, *Theol. Lit. Zeit.*, Feb. 9, 1884. Cf. p. 22, l. 246.

CHAP. XII.

P. 22, l. 244.—"Ye shall have understanding right and left"] That is, a complete understanding. See 2 Cor. vi. 7.

NOTES.

CHAP. XIII.

Prophets and teachers are here spoken of as resident ministers, entitled to maintenance. They were to have the first-fruits of everything. Σιτία, in Classic Greek, is the plural of σιτίον, meaning "food" in general. Here, as in the Byzantine Greek, it is a singular noun, and means "batch," or "baking of bread."

CHAP. XIV.

The Lord's Day is the day for worship and for the Eucharist. No mention is made of the seventh day of the week.

CHAP. XV.

P. 26, l. 277.—"Now appoint for yourselves," χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς] Χειροτονέω occurs only twice in the New Testament (Acts xiv. 23 ; 2 Cor. viii. 19), and, in both places, means simply to "appoint." Josephus uses the word in the same sense in Ant. xiii. 2, 2, where Alexander Balas, the pretended son of Antiochus Epiphanes, "appoints" Jonathan High Priest. The same meaning appears in Ant. vii. 9, 3 ; vii. 11, 1. In Ant. vi. 5, 4, however, the noun χειροτονία is used of the coronation of Saul. In Josephus, accordingly, the *prevailing* sense of χειροτονέω is to "appoint." This is the meaning of the word also in the Epistles of Ignatius (about 115 A.D.). See Philadelphians, Chap. 10 ; Smyrnæans, Chap. 11 ; Polycarp, Chap. 7.

But in the "Apostolic Canons," I. and II., and in the "Apostolic Constitutions," viii. 4, 5, χειροτονέω means to "ordain." This represents the usage of the third century, as the New Testament, Josephus, and Ignatius represent the usage of the first and second centuries.

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Now, it is noteworthy, that in the "Apostolic Constitutions," vii. 31 (the section corresponding to the passage before us), the word employed is not *χειροτονέω*, which then meant "ordain," but *προχειρίζομαι*, a new usage having obtained. In this fifteenth chapter of the "Teaching," *χειροτονέω* is employed, evidently, in its original sense of "appoint." This indicates the high antiquity of the document, antedating by decades, if not by a whole century, the "Apostolic Canons" and the "Apostolic Constitutions."

As for the officers to be "appointed," only Bishops and Deacons are mentioned. By Bishops must, of course, be meant Presbyters, or Elders. There is no sign of a Bishop as distinguished from a Presbyter; nor of a Ruling Elder as distinguished from a Teaching Elder; and, apparently, there was in each congregation a plurality both of Bishops (or Elders) and Deacons.

CHAP. XVI.

The document concludes with a vision of the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven, and all the saints with him. The resurrection is of the dead, *νεκρῶν*, though "not of all the dead." Not a word is said of any second resurrection. If there is to be a second resurrection, it is only implied. Of course, no interval is indicated. Premillennarianism, accordingly, is not directly, perhaps not even indirectly, taught. Following the lead of the New Testament, as in Matt. xxiv. 31, and in 1 Thess. iv. 13-18, our document may, after all, only be emphasizing the resurrection of the righteous.

ERRORS IN THE CODEX CORRECTED BY BRYENNIOS.

LINE.	CODEX.	BRYENNIOS.
32.	δέ.....	δή.
32.	ιδρωτάτω.....	ιδρωσάτω.
51.	ὀργίλος.....	ὀργίλος.
59.	εἰδωλολατρίαν.....	εἰδωλολατρείαν.
62.	εἰδωλολατρία.....	εἰδωλολατρεία.
91.	ἡ.....	δ.
103.	δοῦλοι [<i>Sic!</i> See Bryenn., p. 22, N. 19]..	δοῦλοι.
104.	ἡμῶν.....	ὑμῶν.
114, 115.	εἰδωλολατρίαι.....	εἰδωλολατρεῖαι.
115.	φαρμακίαι ¹	φαρμακεῖαι.
158, 159.	γεννηθήτω.....	γεννηθήτω.
188.	ὑμῶν	ἡμῶν.
197.	σὺν ἡ δόξα.....	σοι ἡ δόξα.
205.	ὥς ἀννὰ τῷ θεῷ.....	ὥσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ.
229.	ὁ ρίζων.....	ὀρίζων.
244.	ἔξεται.....	ἔξετε.
258.	δώσεις τὴν ἀπαρχήν	δώσεις.

¹ Used only in poetry.—*Bryenn.*

Theologische Quartalschrift
(Tübingen): 64. 3. (1882).

I.

Abhandlungen.

1.

Über das altkirchliche Unterrichtsbuch: „Die zwei Wege
oder die Entscheidung des Petrus.“

Von Subregens Dr. [✓]Krawinkel in Breslau.

1.

Die Vermuthung Hilgenfeld's.

In der Epistola fest. 39 nennt Athanasius ¹⁾ neben den in den kirchlichen Canon aufgenommenen Schriften als Bücher, welche von den Vätern zum Vorlesen für die Katechumenen bestimmt worden seien, die Weisheit Salomo's, die Weisheit des Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobias, die sogenannte Lehre der Apostel und den Hirten. Rufinus wiederholt in seinem Kommentar zum Apostelsymbol diese Angaben, jedoch mit zwei Abweichungen.

1) Opp. ed. Bened. I, 2, 963.

Statt des Buches Esther führt er die Bücher der Maccabäer an und statt der sogenannten Lehre der Apostel ein Büchlein mit dem Titel: „Die zwei Wege oder die Entscheidung des Petrus.“ „Es giebt noch andere Bücher“, lauten seine Worte, „welche von den Vorfahren nicht als kanonische, sondern als kirchliche bezeichnet worden sind, wie es die Weisheit Salomo's ist u. s. w.; beim neuen Testament aber das Büchlein, welches den Namen des Hirten oder des Hermas führt, welches „Die zwei Wege oder die Entscheidung des Petrus“ heißt“ ¹⁾. Auch Hieronymus redet von der letztgenannten Schrift, zählt sie jedoch zu den unzulässigen,

1) Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici, sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt: ut est Sapientia Salomonis et alia Sapientia quae dicitur filii Syrach, qui liber apud Latinos hoc ipso generali vocabulo Ecclesiasticus appellatur, quo vocabulo non auctor libelli, sed scripturae qualitas cognominata est; ejusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiae et Judith et Maccabaeorum libri; in novo vero testamento libellus, qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermatis, qui appellatur Duae viae vel Judicium Petri. Rufinus Aquil. Comment. in symb. apost. c. 38. „Die Ausdrucksweise,“ bemerkt Hilgenfeld zu diesem Text (H. fr. Einl. in das N. T. Leipz. 1875, S. 158), „welcher man durch Einschaltung eines et vor qui appellatur nachzuhelfen versucht hat“ (so Credner, Geschichte des Neutest. Kanon, herausgeg. v. Volkmar, Berl. 1860, S. 273), „ist etwas unklar.“ Doch herrscht kein Zweifel, daß zwei verschiedene zum neuen Testament hinzukommende Unterrichtsbücher gemeint sind. — Statt Judicium Petri haben die alten Drucke mit dem Codex Sangerm. die Lesart: Judicium secundum Petrum; der Cod. Reg.: Judicium secundum Petri (Migne, Rufini Aquil. opp., 1849, col. 374). Letztere Variante gäbe nur einen Sinn, wenn eine erste und zweite Entscheidung des Petrus angenommen werden könnte, wozu jeder Anhalt fehlt; sie beruht ohne Zweifel auf der Lesart: secundum Petrum, deren handschriftliche Beglaubigung sie steigert.

apokryphen Unterrichtsbüchern. Er schreibt nämlich über den Apostel Petrus: „Die Bücher, von welchen das eine als seine Akten überschrieben ist, das andere als sein Evangelium, das dritte als seine Predigt, das vierte als seine Offenbarung, das fünfte als seine Entscheidung, werden unter die apokryphen Schriften verwiesen“¹⁾. Es ergibt sich hieraus, daß gegen Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts²⁾ der Gebrauch und das Ansehen der „Zwei Wege oder der Entscheidung des Petrus“ keineswegs allgemein war, was übrigens auch vom Hirten des Hermas gilt, den Hieronymus ebenfalls gelegentlich einmal kurzweg als apokryph bezeichnet³⁾. Immerhin erscheint jedoch eine Schrift, welche einst dem Hirten im kirchlichen Unterrichte zur Seite gestellt wurde, einiger Beachtung werth und ladet um so mehr hierzu ein, als sie neuerdings mehrfach für wieder gefunden angesehen wird.

Im Jahre 1866 theilte nämlich Adolf Hilgenfeld in seinem *Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum*, fasc. IV., p. 95—105 einen griechischen Text mit, welchen er unter Bezugnahme auf die obigen Angaben des Rufinus und des Hieronymus mit »*Duae viae vel iudicium Petri*« überschrieb. Vor ihm hatten denselben

1) *De viris illustr. c. 1.* (Opp. ed. Vallars. II, 227). Die Worte: *libri autem, e quibus unus Actorum ejus inscribitur, alius Evangelii, . . . quintus Judicii*, — lassen unentschieden, ob bei *Judicium* ebenso wie bei *Evangelium* (s. Hilgenfeld, *Nov. Test. extra can. IV*, 39 ss.) *secundum Petrum* oder wie bei *Acta* nur *Petri* hinzuzudenken ist. S. die vorige Anm.

2) Die Abfassungszeit der Schrift *De viris illustr.* trifft in die neunziger Jahre des vierten Jahrh. Alzog, *Handb. der Patrologie*, 3. Aufl., Frb. 1876, S. 383.

3) *Comm. in Abacuc I, 1, 14* (Opp. VI, 604 s.), Hilgenf. l. c. III, p. XIV.

Text J. Wilh. Bickell ¹⁾, A. P. de Lagarde ²⁾ und J. B. Pitra ³⁾ veröffentlicht, jedoch ohne den von Hilgenfeld gewählten Titel, da die Wiener Handschrift, auf welcher die Veröffentlichungen beruhen, nur die Überschrift: „Die Verordnungen durch Clemens und kirchliche Kanonen der heiligen Apostel“ bietet ⁴⁾. Auch war bereits von Bickell eine große Übereinstimmung dieser „Verordnungen“ oder, um mit demselben

1) Geschichte des Kirchenrechts, Gießen 1843, I, 107—132.

2) Reliquiae juris ecclesiastici antiquissimae, graece ed. Lips. 1856, p. 74—79.

3) Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum historia et monumenta. Tom. I. Romae 1864, p. 77—86.

4) *Αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος καὶ κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων*. Bickell, a. a. O. S. 88 Anm., bemerkt hierzu Folgendes: „Der griechische Titel, welchen dieses Stück in der Wiener Handschrift führt: αἱ διατ. u. f. w. beruht vielleicht auf einem Versehen des Abschreibers und gehört wohl eigentlich zu den (in der Handschrift ebenfalls auszugsweise aufgenommenen) apostolischen Constitutionen, indem von Clemens in unserem Stücke keine Rede ist. Der äthiopische Text hat denn auch wirklich einen anderen und zwar ganz passenden Titel: „Dieses sind die Canones der Apostel, welche sie zur Ordnung der christlichen Kirche festgesetzt haben“, und hiernach habe ich den Titel: apostolische Kirchenordnung (*ordinatio ecclesiastica apostolorum*) für dieses pseudoapostolische Stück gewählt.“ — Ed. Böhmmer (Deutsche Zeitschrift für christl. Wissensch. u. christl. Leben. Jahrg. 1857, S. 168) findet diese Bezeichnung nicht treffend. Aber in Ermangelung einer besseren (Pitra überschreibt l. c. p. 75 das Ganze mit: *Sanctorum apostolorum sententiae*; Lagarde führt das Stück nur als caput undecimum seiner Sammlung an; eine Vaticaniſche Handschrift, welche Pitra noch verglich, bietet, da sie nicht den vollständigen Text, sondern einen Auszug enthält, den Titel: *Ἐπιτομὴ ὅρων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καθολικῆς παραδόσεως*) werden wir im Folgenden die Bickell'sche Bezeichnung beibehalten.

Autor zu reden ¹⁾, dieser „apostolischen Kirchenordnung“ mit der zweiten, kleineren Hälfte des Barnabasbriefes, welche die zwei Wege des Lichtes und der Finsterniß beschreibt ²⁾, sowie mit dem ersten Theile des siebenten Buches der apostolischen Constitutionen, wo der Weg des Lebens und der des Todes geschildert wird ³⁾, bemerkt werden ⁴⁾. Lagarde hatte außerdem die Entdeckung gemacht, daß bereits Clemens von Alexandrien an einer Stelle seiner Stromata ⁵⁾ die fragliche Kirchenordnung zu kennen und zwar als „Schrift“ anzuführen scheint, da das betreffende Citat weder im Barnabasbriefe noch in den apostolischen Constitutionen vorkommt noch sonst bisher nachweisbar war ⁶⁾. Pitra endlich, so hebt wenigstens Hilgenfeld ⁷⁾ hervor, um anzudeuten, wie nahe schon vor ihm die erst durch ihn ausgesprochene Vermuthung lag, wies auch bereits auf die hervorragende Rolle hin, welche dem Petrus in der Kirchenordnung

1) S. die vorige Anm.

2) C. 18—20.

3) C. 1—18.

4) Bickell vermutet a. a. O. S. 91, daß der Kirchenordnung weder der Barnabasbrief noch die apost. Constit. unmittelbar zu Grunde liegen, sondern eine dritte mit dem Briefe des Barnabas zusammenhängende Schrift, welche sowohl dem Verfasser der Kirchenordnung als dem des 7. Buches der apost. Constit. bekannt gewesen sei. Der zweite Theil dieser Vermuthung wird sich im Folgenden als richtig ergeben. Gegen den ersten Theil wird sich zeigen lassen, daß der Verfasser der Kirchenordnung neben der vermutheten dritten Schrift zwar nicht die apost. Constit., aber doch den Barnabasbrief unmittelbar benutzt hat.

5) I, c. 20, p. 373 ed. Potter.

6) L. c. p. XIX u. 76, 7.

7) L. c., IV, p. 95.

beigelegt wird ¹⁾. Hiernach trug Hilgenfeld kein Bedenken, in dem vorliegenden Texte das von Rufinus sowie von Hieronymus erwähnte, aber bisher vermißte altkirchliche Unterrichtsbuch „Die zwei Wege oder die Entscheidung des Petrus“ zu erblicken und als von ihm wiedergefunden hinzustellen ²⁾. Seine Vermuthung hat alsbald Zustimmung gefunden — z. B. schon in der 1869 erschienenen Erklärung des Barnabasbriefes von F. G. Müller ³⁾, desgleichen in den Ausgaben der apostolischen Väter von Gebhardt — Harnack — Zahn (1875) ⁴⁾ und von Fr. X. Funk (1878) ⁵⁾ — und dürfte, da Hilgenfeld selbst noch in seiner 1875 veröffentlichten Einleitung in das Neue Testament keines Widerspruches gedenkt ⁶⁾, bis jetzt unbestritten geblieben sein.

Zur besseren Klarstellung des Gegenstandes erscheint es nun angemessen, vor allem die Gründe, auf welche Hilgenfeld seine Meinung stützt, näher kennen zu lernen. In dieser Hinsicht werden von ihm drei Umstände geltend gemacht: 1. die neu herausgegebene Schrift sei schon dem Clemens von Alexandrien bekannt gewesen; 2. dieselbe stehe in naher Beziehung zum siebenten Buche der apostolischen Constitutionen, das sehr viele Sätze aus ihr

1) L. c. p. 76.

2) Nov. Test. extr. can., IV, p. 94 s. u. H. fr. Einl. in das N. T. S. 158.

3) S. 345.

4) Patr. Apost. opp. edd. Osc. de Gebhardt, Ad. Harnack, Théod. Zahn, fasc. I, Lips. 1875, p. XXIII.

5) Opp. Patr. Apost. ed. Fr. X. Funk, Tub. 1878, p. I.

6) S. S. 158. In einer Anzahl theologischer Zeitschriften habe ich nach einer Besprechung der Hilgenfeld'schen »Duæ viae« vergebens gesucht.

enthalte, und sei wegen dieser Verwandtschaft bei Rufinus an die Stelle der von Athanasius angeführten „Lehre der Apostel“ getreten; 3. auch finde sich aus dem Alterthume kein Buch, mit welchem alles, was jener von Rufinus überlieferte Titel besagte, besser übereinstimme: der zweite Theil des Barnabasbriefes, welchen der alte lateinische Übersetzer wegließ, sei für sich herausgegeben und mit dem Titel: „Die zwei Wege“ bezeichnet worden, durch Apostelsprüche vermehrt habe er auch den Titel: „Die Entscheidung des Petrus“ erhalten, die erste Hälfte aber sei in das siebente Buch der apostolischen Constitutionen übergegangen ¹⁾).

Betrachten wir diese Angaben im Einzelnen, so fand, wie erwähnt, bereits Lagarde allerdings bei Clemens von Alexandrien ein Citat, welches sich mit der in Rede stehenden Schrift berührt. „Dieser“, heißt es Stromata I, c. 20, „ist von der Schrift als Dieb bezeichnet worden; wenigstens sagt sie: „Sohn, werde nicht ein Lügner, denn die Lüge führt zum Diebstahl“ ²⁾).

1) Hunc esse librum, quem Rufinus »Duae viae vel iudicium Petri« appellavit, nemo vidit. eundem autem librum fuisse nullus dubito. hae »Constitutiones et Canones apostolorum« breviores, quamvis hic illic postea mutatae, jam Clementi Alexandrino innotuerunt. ex iisdem permulta in Constitutionum apostolicarum l. VII transierunt. cognatum igitur librum Rufinus pro Doctrina apostolorum ab Athanasio memorata substituit. neque ullum alium librum antiquum invenies, cui omnia quae ille titulus praedicavit melius convenient. Barnabae epistolae pars altera (c. 18—21), quam vetus interpres latinus non vertit, seorsim edita Ὁδοὶ δύο, apostolorum sententiis aucta etiam Πέτρον κρίμα appellata est, prior autem pars in Constitt. app. l. VII transscripta est. L. c. IV, p. 95.

2) Οὗτος κλέπτης ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς εἰρηται. φησὶ γοῦν · Υἱέ,

In der Kirchenordnung aber lesen wir: „Nathanael sprach: Kind, werde nicht ein Lügner, indem die Lüge zum Diebstahl führt“ ¹⁾. Die Übereinstimmung ist also fast eine wörtliche. Nur bleibt anderseits auch die Möglichkeit, daß der Verfasser der Kirchenordnung und Clemens von Alexandrien unabhängig von einander aus ein und derselben älteren Schrift geschöpft haben, welche wir nicht mehr besitzen ²⁾.

Sodann werden wir auf die Verwandtschaft der neu edierten Schrift mit dem siebenten Buche der apostolischen Constitutionen hingewiesen und dahin berichtet, daß Rufinus wegen dieser Verwandtschaft statt der von Athanasius

μη γινου ψεύστης· ὁδηγεῖ γάρ τὸ ψεῦδος πρὸς τὴν κλοπὴν.
L. c. p. 373 ed. Potter.

1) *Ναθαναὴλ εἶπε· Τέκνον, μὴ γινου ψεύστης, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα ἐπὶ τὴν κλοπὴν.* Hilgenf. IV, p. 98, 24, 25. Die Verschiedenheit einzelner Ausdrücke fällt hier wegen der Freiheit, mit welcher Clemens von Alexandrien Schriftstellen anzuführen pflegt, nicht in's Gewicht. S. hierüber J. H. Friedlieb, Schrift, Tradition und kirchl. Schriftauslegung. Breslau 1854, S. 206.

2) Außerdem sucht Hilgenfeld die Bekanntschaft des Alexandriners mit der Kirchenordnung noch dadurch zu erhärten, daß in letzterer unter den Aposteln neben Petrus ein Kephas genannt werde und auch Clemens von Alexandrien einen Kephas von Petrus unterschieden habe. Wenigstens werde von Euseb. H. E. I, 12, 2 mitgetheilt, daß Clemens von Alexandrien im 5. Buche der Hypotyposen den im Galaterbriefe 2, 11 erwähnten Kephas (sic), welchem Paulus zu Antiochien entgegentrat, als einen von den 70 Jüngern bezeichne, der zufällig mit dem Apostel Petrus gleichnamig gewesen sei. L. c. p. 95 u. 105. Wie man sieht, läßt sich jedoch auch hieraus eine Bekanntschaft des Clemens von Alexandrien mit der Kirchenordnung nicht sicher entnehmen, da die letztere den Kephas in der Zahl der Apostel anführt, ganz abgesehen davon, daß sie ihm Worte in den Mund legt wie: „Du sollst nicht Spaltungen verursachen“ u. s. w., welche die Beziehung auf Gal. 2, 11 ff. wenig wahrscheinlich machen. S. l. c. p. 100, 6—8.

angeführten sogenannten Lehre der Apostel die in Rede stehende Schrift erwähnt habe. Der Gedanke Hilgenfeld's ist ohne Zweifel der, daß Rufinus unter dem Titel: „Die zwei Wege oder die Entscheidung des Petrus“ ein ähnliches Werk genannt haben dürfte, wie es die sogenannte Apostellehre bei Athanasius war, und deshalb die Kirchenordnung wohl gemeint haben könne, da diese in der That gleich dem siebenten Buche der apostolischen Constitutionen eine Apostellehre enthalte. Über eine bloße Vermuthung und Möglichkeit kommen wir also auch hier nicht hinaus.

Zuletzt macht Hilgenfeld geltend, daß sich keine andere Schrift des Alterthums finde, mit welcher alles, was der von Rufinus überlieferte Titel besagte, besser übereinstimme. Der erste Theil der Schrift mit seiner dem Barnabasbriefe entnommenen Schilderung der zwei Wege erkläre den Titel: „Die zwei Wege“, der zweite Theil aber, in welchem ein Ausspruch des Petrus den Anfang und den Schluß bilde, habe nicht minder passend „Die Entscheidung des Petrus“ überschrieben werden können ¹⁾. — Indes hiergegen ist doch zu erinnern, daß der zweite Theil weder zur alleinigen Erwähnung des Petrus im Titel noch zur Wahl des Wortes „Entscheidung, Judicium“ genügenden Anlaß giebt und selbst, wenn dies der Fall wäre, der Gesamttitel eher: „Die zwei Wege und die Entscheidung des Petrus“ als: „Die zwei Wege oder die Entscheidung des Petrus“

1) Petri est sententia prima et ultima, bemerkt Hilgenfeld l. c. p. 106 zum zweiten Theile, quam ob rem huic alteri parti titulus »Petri judicium« non minus convenit quam priori titulus »Duae viae«.

lauten müßte. Denn zwar hat Petrus im zweiten Theile das Eingangs- und Schlußwort sowie den Spruch über die zuerst in Betracht kommende Bischofswahl. Es erscheint insofern nicht unrichtig, mit *Pitra* ¹⁾ von einem hervorragenden Antheile dieses Apostels an der Verhandlung zu reden. Allein für die Verhandlung selbst, in welcher nach Petrus noch Johannes, Jakobus, Matthäus, Kephäs, Andreas und Philippus das Wort ergreifen, um bezüglich der Priester, der Vorleser, der Diakonen, der Wittwen und der Laien das Geeignete anzuordnen, hätte wohl die in der Wiener Handschrift vorkommende Bezeichnung: „Kirchliche Kanonen der heiligen Apostel,“ nicht aber der Titel: „Die Entscheidung des Petrus“ gewählt werden können. Daß aber die von Rufinus erwähnte Schrift „Die zwei Wege oder die Entscheidung des Petrus“ hieß, deutet doch wohl auf eine Arbeit hin, welche allenfalls insofern aus zwei Theilen bestand, als sie wirklich zwei Wege nach einander schilderte (— wogegen die Kirchenordnung in ihrem ersten Theile zwar anfangs von zwei Wegen redet, dann aber nur den Lebensweg beschreibt und eine Darstellung des Todesweges weder im ersten noch im zweiten Theile bringt —) und welche hierbei so verfuhr, daß Petrus hinsichtlich der zwei Wege das entscheidende Urtheil sprach. — Mag also immerhin in unserem gesammten patristischen Literaturbestande keine Schrift sich finden, welche den von Rufinus bezeugten Titel mit größerem Rechte erhalten könnte, als die vorliegende Kirchenordnung, so erscheint doch auch das Recht der letzteren auf jenen Titel wenig

1) L. c. p. 76.

einleuchtend, zumal die Möglichkeit, daß wir das fragliche Unterrichtsbuch überhaupt nicht mehr besitzen, sondern nur noch zwei Überarbeitungen desselben, eine kürzere und unvollständige in der ersten Hälfte der Kirchenordnung und eine längere im ersten Theile des siebenten Buches der apostol. Constit., durchaus nicht so fern liegt.

Doch wird es an der Zeit sein, um über den angeregten Gegenstand ein bestimmteres Urtheil zu gewinnen, die Schilderungen der zwei Wege sowohl im Barnabasbriefe als auch in der Kirchenordnung und im siebenten Buche der apostol. Constit. selbst zu betrachten.

2.

Die Darstellung der zwei Wege im Barnabasbriefe.

Der Barnabasbrief beginnt seinen zweiten oder paränetischen Theil, dessen Echtheit seit der Vertheidigung Hefele's ¹⁾ fast allgemein anerkannt wird ²⁾, mit den Worten: „Gehen wir aber auch zu einer anderen (geistigen) Erkenntniß und Lehre über. Es sind zwei Wege — der Lehre und der Machtvollkommenheit —, der des Lichtes und der der Finsterniß. Aber der Unterschied zwischen den zwei Wegen ist groß. Denn dem einen sind Lichtengel Gottes vorgesetzt, dem anderen Engel des Satans: und jener ist ein Herr von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit, dieser

1) E. J. Hefele, Das Sendschreiben des Apostels Barnabas, Tüb. 1840, S. 196 ff. Tüb. Quartalschr. 1839, S. 60 ff.

2) Ad. Hilgenfeld, Barnabae epistula, ed. 2., Lips. 1877, p. XXX s. Fr. X. Funk, Opp. Patrum apost. p. X s.

aber ein Herrscher der jetzigen Zeitfrist der Ungesetzlichkeit.“

Auf diese Einleitung, welche das achtzehnte Kapitel des Briefes ausmacht, folgt im neunzehnten die Schilderung des Lichtweges. „Der Weg des Lichtes nun ist dieser: wenn Jemand willens, des Weges zu wandeln zum Endziele hin, sei er eifrig mit seinen Werken. Es ist nun die Erkenntniß, die uns verliehen worden, daß wir in ihr wandeln, von folgender Art. — Du sollst lieben den, der dich gemacht, fürchten den, der dich gebildet, verherrlichen den, der dich erlöst hat vom Tode; sollst einfach sein im Herzen und reich im Geiste; sollst nicht anhängen denjenigen, die auf dem Todeswege wandeln; sollst hassen alles, was nicht wohlgefällig ist vor Gott; sollst hassen alle Heuchelei; nicht mögest du verlassen die Gebote des Herrn. — Du sollst dich nicht selbst erhöhen, sondern demüthig sein in allen Beziehungen, nicht dir selbst Ehre beilegen; du sollst nicht annehmen einen schlimmen Rath gegen deinen Nächsten, nicht gestatten deiner Seele Verwegenheit. — Du sollst nicht huren, nicht ehebrechen, nicht Knaben schänden; nicht möge das Wort Gottes von dir ausgehen in der Unreinheit gewisser Leute; du sollst nicht persönliche Rücksicht nehmen beim Zurechtweisen wegen eines Fehltrittes; du sollst sanft sein, sollst ruhig sein, sollst zittern hinsichtlich der Worte, die du gehört hast; du sollst nicht Böses nachtragen deinem Bruder. — Du sollst nicht zweifeln, ob es sein wird oder nicht; nicht mögest du den Namen des Herrn vergeblich führen; du sollst lieben deinen Nächsten mehr als deine Seele; du sollst nicht tödten ein Kind durch Abtreibung noch auch hinwieder nach der Geburt es umbringen; nicht mögest du deine Hand zurückziehen von

deinem Sohne oder von deiner Tochter, sondern von Jugend auf sollst du sie lehren die Furcht des Herrn. — Nicht mögest du begierig werden nach den Gütern deines Nächsten, nicht werde ein habgieriger Mensch; auch sollst du nicht mit deiner Seele anhängen den Hochgestellten, sondern mit den Demüthigen und Gerechten umgehen; die dich treffenden Schickungen sollst du für gut hinnehmen, wissend, daß ohne Gott nichts geschieht. — Du sollst nicht doppelsinnig und nicht doppelzüngig sein, denn eine Schlinge des Todes ist die Doppelzüngigkeit; du sollst dich unterwerfen den Gebiethern als einem Hinweis auf Gott mit Eingezogenheit und Furcht; nicht mögest du deinem Knechte oder der Magd, die auf denselben Gott hoffen, gebieten mit Bitterkeit, daß sie nicht ablassen Gott zu fürchten, der über beiden ist, da er nicht gekommen, nach persönlicher Rücksicht zu berufen, sondern zu denen, welche der Geist vorbereitet hat. — Du sollst Gemeinschaft gewähren in allen Dingen deinem Nächsten und nichts dein eigen nennen, denn wenn ihr im Unvergänglichen Genossen seid, um wie viel mehr in den vergänglichen Dingen; du sollst nicht vorlaut sein, denn der Mund ist eine Schlinge des Todes; so sehr du kannst, um deiner Seele willen sollst du dich rein halten. — Sei nicht ein Mensch, der seine Hand ausstreckt zum Empfangen, zum Geben aber sie einzieht; du sollst lieben wie deinen Augapfel jeden, welcher zu dir des Herrn Wort redet. — Du sollst gedenken des Gerichtstages bei Nacht und bei Tage und auffuchen an jeglichem Tage die Gegenwart der Heiligen, indem du entweder vermittelst des Wortes dich bemühest und hinwandelst zum Ermahnen und sinnest auf die Seelenrettung durch das

Wort, oder vermittelst deiner Hände sollst du hinarbeiten auf ein Lösegeld für deine Sünden. — Du sollst dich nicht besinnen zum Geben und sollst nicht murren, wenn du giebst, erkennen aber wirst du, wer der gute Lohn-erstatte ist; du sollst bewahren, was du empfangen hast, ohne Hinzufügung und ohne Hinwegnahme; immerdar sollst du hassen den Bösen; du sollst gerecht richten. — Du sollst nicht eine Spaltung verursachen, sondern sollst friedfertig sein, indem du die Streitenden vereinigt; du sollst das Bekenntniß ablegen über deine Sünden; du sollst nicht nahen zum Gebet mit bösem Bewußtsein. Dieses ist der Weg des Lichtes."

Ein Plan und geordneter Gedankengang dürfte in dieser Schilderung unmöglich nachzuweisen sein. J. G. Müller ¹⁾ theilt das neunzehnte Kapitel in zwölf durch die obigen Striche angedeutete Paragraphen, zu welchen er folgende Inhaltsangaben macht: „1. Der Weg des Lichtes besteht in Wandel und Werken. 2. Das erste und oberste Gebot ist das der Liebe zu Gott, welche keine Gemeinschaft mit dem Wege des Todes duldet. 3. Erhebe dich nicht über deinen Nächsten. 4. Übe Keuschheit, Unparteilichkeit, Milde. 5. Zweifle nicht beim Gebet, mißbrauche nicht den Namen Gottes, liebe den Nächsten, verfühne dich namentlich nicht an deinen Kindern. 6. Strebe nicht nach Gold und hoher Bekanntschaft. Ertrage, was dir Gott schickt. 7. Sei nicht doppelsinnig. Verhalten gegen Obere und Niedere. 8. Sei gegen den Nächsten mildthätig und nicht vorlaut. 9. Sei freigebig. Besonders liebe die Verkündiger des Wortes Gottes. 10. Halte dich

1) Erklärung des Barnabasbriefes. Ein Anhang zu De Wette's exeg. Handb. zum N. T. Leipz. 1869, S. 352 ff.

an die Heiligen (die Gemeinde), und sei thätig für ihr Heil. 11. Gieb gern. Bleibe auf dem rechten Wege der Gebote Jesu. 12. Erhalte den Frieden in der Gemeinde; gestehe Gott deine Sünden; aber bete nicht in Sünden." — Ein faßlicher Fortschritt der Ermahnungen ist jedoch hieraus nicht zu entnehmen.

Ebenso wenig verhilft zu größerer Klarheit eine Vergleichung mit dem kürzeren zwanzigsten Kapitel, welches den Weg der Finsterniß oder des „Schwarzen“ ¹⁾ beschreibt. „Der Weg des Schwarzen aber“, heißt es hier, „ist verkehrt und voll des Fluches. Denn es ist ein Weg ewigen Todes in Verbindung mit Strafe, worauf sich befindet, was ihre Seelen verdirbt: Götzendienst, Frechheit, Hochmuth der Macht, Heuchelei, Doppelherzigkeit, Ehebruch, Mord, Raub, Überhebung, Übertretung, Betrug, Bosheit, Anmaßung, Giftmischerei, Zauberei, Habsucht, Mangel an Gottesfurcht; Verfolger der Guten, Wahrheit hassend, Lügen liebend, von einem Lohne der Gerechtigkeit nichts wissend, nicht anhängend dem Guten, nicht dem gerechten Gerichte, nicht achtend einer Wittwe oder Waise, wachsam nicht zur Gottesfurcht, sondern zum Schlimmen, von denen weitab und fern ist Sanftmuth und Geduld, liebend das Falsche, jagend nach Belohnung, nicht bemitleidend den Armen, nicht sich anstrengend wegen eines schwer Belasteten, behend in der Verläumdung, nicht erkennend den, der sie gemacht, Mörder von Kindern, Zerstörer des Gebildes Gottes, sich abwendend vom Bedürftigen, unterdrückend den Bedrängten, Beistände der Reichen, ungerechte Richter der Armen, in Allem sündhaft.“ —

1) Müller, a. a. D. S. 370.

Augenscheinlich war es dem Verfasser nicht darum zu thun, bei seiner Aufzählung eine wohlüberlegte Ordnung einzuhalten. Höchstens läßt sich denken, daß demselben, als er den Lichtweg zu beschreiben versuchte, eine Eintheilung vorschwebte, welche sich ihm bei Betrachtung der mosaischen Speisegesetze, die er als Vorbild der Christenpflichten darstellt, schon im ersten Theile des Briefes nahe gelegt hatte. In der mosaischen Vorschrift, weder vom Schweine noch vom Adler noch vom Habicht noch vom Raben noch vom unbeschuppten Fische zu essen, seien nämlich, so erklärt Kapitel X. unseres Briefes, drei geistig aufzufassende Lehrsätze aufgestellt, die gleichsam lauten: Du sollst dich nicht zu solchen Leuten gesellen, welche den Schweinen gleichen, die nur aus Hunger laut werden, wenn sie aber vollauf haben, ihres Herrn vergessen; auch nicht Leuten ähnlich werden, die gleich den Raubvögeln von fremdem Gut sich nähren, und auch nicht solchen, die gleich den schuppenlosen Bewohnern der Meeresestiefe, welche niemals emportauchen, immerdar gottlos und bereits dem Todesurtheile verfallen sind. Möglicher Weise dachte der Verfasser hieran, als er bei der Schilderung des Lichtweges die Worte: „Du sollst lieben den, der dich gemacht hat u. s. w.“ voranstellte, dann die mannigfache Warnung vor der Selbsterhöhung und verwegenen Schädigung des Nächsten folgen ließ und zuletzt mit den Worten: „Du sollst lieben wie deinen Augapfel jeden, welcher zu dir des Herrn Wort redet u. s. w.“ zu kirchlicher Gesinnung und werththätigem Seeleneifer ermahnte. Diese Möglichkeit liegt um so näher, als in Kapitel X. bei der Besprechung der drei Thierklassen noch folgende Stelle vorkommt. „Die (geistige) Erkennt-

niß derselben drei Lehrsätze erfaßt aber David und sagt auf ähnliche Weise: „Glücklich der Mann, welcher nicht wandelte nach dem Rathe der Gottlosen“, gleichwie auch die Fische im Finstern zur Tiefe wandeln, „und auf dem Wege der Sünder nicht stand“, gleichwie die zum Scheine Gottesfürchtigen wie die Schweine sündigen, „und auf dem Stuhle der Pestilenz nicht saß“, gleichwie die Vögel, die auf Raub lauern“. Denn es wird aus dieser Hinzunahme des ersten Psalm zugleich erklärlich, wie der Verfasser dazu kam, seine Darstellung der Sittenlehre im zweiten Theile des Briefes nicht bloß als eine (geistige) Erkenntniß — *γνώσις* — einzuführen ¹⁾, sondern auch in der Form einer Schilderung zweier Wege zu versuchen. Aber trotzdem erweist sich jede Bemühung, die Reihenfolge der Sätze nach der obigen Eintheilung im Einzelnen zu rechtfertigen, als schlechthin erfolglos.

3.

Die Darstellung des Lebensweges in der sog. apost. Kirchenordnung.

Um so bemerkenswerther erscheint es, daß die Kirchenordnung und ebenso die apost. Konstitutionen die im Barnabasbriefe enthaltenen Aussprüche über den Lichtweg oder, wie nun der Ausdruck lautet, über den Weg des Lebens in einer anderen und zwar faßlicheren Reihenfolge wiedergeben.

1) c. 18.

Betrachten wir, um mit der kürzeren und einfacheren Darstellung zu beginnen, zunächst den Abschnitt der Kirchenordnung, welcher die Beschreibung des Lebensweges enthält, so verdient bereits Beachtung, daß hier nicht bloß, wie im Barnabasbriefe, das Gebot der Gottesliebe an die Spitze gestellt, sondern alsbald auch das der Nächstenliebe, auf welches der Barnabasbrief erst später zu sprechen kommt, beigelegt und zwar sowohl nach seinem positiven Wortlaute als auch nach seiner negativen Umschreibung mitgetheilt wird. „Johannes“, heißt es in der Kirchenordnung, „sprach: Es sind zwei Wege, der eine des Lebens und der andre des Todes. Aber der Unterschied ist groß zwischen den zwei Wegen. Denn der Weg des Lebens einerseits ist dieser: Erstens, du sollst lieben den Gott, der dich gemacht hat, aus deinem ganzen Herzen und verherrlichen den, der dich erlöst hat vom Tode, was ein erstes Gebot ist; zweitens, du sollst lieben deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst, was ein zweites Gebot ist ¹⁾, an welchen Stücken das Gesetz hängt und die Propheten.“ Matthäus aber, der nun das Wort ergreift, fügt zum biblischen Wortlaute des Gebotes der Nächstenliebe noch die volksthümliche Umschreibung desselben hinzu, indem er erklärt: „Alles, was du nicht willst, daß es dir geschehe, sollst du auch nicht dem Andern thun.“

Schon diese Zusammenstellung der Liebesgebote verräth einen ordnenden Geist, in dessen Absicht es liegt,

1) Die zweimalige Zählung jedes Gebotes sowie der ungeschickt angehängte Satz: „an welchen Stücken u. s. w.“ (vgl. Matth. 22, 37—40) gehört wohl zu den Interpolationen, deren sich noch mehrere herausstellen werden.

vor allem einen kurzen, aber vollständigen Inbegriff aller Christenpflichten darzubieten und erst dann zur Erörterung von Einzelheiten überzugehen. Diese Planmäßigkeit der Darstellung tritt aber noch deutlicher im dritten Apostelspruche hervor, indem hier — von Matthäus dazu aufgefordert — Petrus über das Mitgetheilte die nähere Belehrung giebt. Der obige Spruch des Matthäus schließt nämlich mit der Aufforderung: „Zu diesen Worten aber sage die Lehre, Bruder Petrus,“ worauf dieser Folgendes vorträgt: „Du sollst nicht tödten, — nicht ehebrechen, nicht huren, nicht Gift mischen ¹⁾, nicht tödten ein Kind durch Abtreibung, nicht nach der Geburt es umbringen, — nicht falsches Zeugnis geben, nicht Schmähreden führen und nicht Schlimmes nachtragen, sollst nicht doppelsinnig sein und auch nicht doppelzüngig, denn eine Schlinge des Todes ist die Doppelzüngigkeit; deine Rede soll nicht eitel und nicht lügenhaft sein; — du sollst nicht habgierig sein und nicht räuberisch und nicht heuchlerisch und nicht bössartig und nicht hochmüthig und nicht annehmen einen schlimmen Rath gegen deinen Nächsten. — Du sollst nicht hassen irgend einen Menschen, sondern die einen zurechtweisen, der andern dich erbarmen, für andere beten, wieder andre lieben mehr als deine Seele.“ — Diese Worte beziehen sich, wie man sieht, nicht bloß auf den von Matthäus vorgetragenen Text: „Alles was du nicht willst, daß es dir geschehe u. s. w.“, sondern auch auf die positive Vorschrift, den Nächsten zu lieben, welche Johannes mitgetheilt hat. Sie sind insofern eine erste Auslegung sowohl der negativen als der positiven Wort-

1) Vielleicht, „um unfruchtbar zu machen“.

fassung des Gebotes der Nächstenliebe und bilden als solche gegenüber den an der Spitze stehenden einfachen Liebesgeboten einen zweiten in sich abgeschlossenen Haupttheil der Darstellung, dessen einzelne Sätze zwar größtentheils dem Barnabasbriefe entnommen, aber in einer neuen und ersichtlicher Maßen besseren Ordnung zusammengestellt sind. An das erste Verbot der zweiten mosaischen Gesetzestafel schließen sich in richtiger Reihenfolge das zweite und vierte Verbot derselben Tafel mit naheliegenden Erweiterungen und Zusätzen an und wenigleich das Diebstahlsverbot übergangen ist und auch die beiden Gierigkeitsverbote des Dekalogs nicht wörtlich aufgenommen sind, so unterliegt doch der wohlgeordnete, zuerst an die Zehngebote sich anlehrende und schließlich zum positiven Gebote der Nächstenliebe fortschreitende Gedankengang kaum einem Zweifel.

Mit einer allgemein gehaltenen, einleitungsweisen Ermahnung beginnt sodann ein dritter, umfangreichster und letzter Haupttheil der Unterweisung. Zuerst warnt Andreas vor dem Zorne, weil derselbe zum Morde verleite. Hierauf reden Philippus und Simon von Fehlern, welche zu Hurerei und Ehebruch führen. Auch Jakobus und Nathanael treten auf und äußern sich über Dinge, aus welchen Götzendienst und Diebstahl entspringt u. s. w. Wie man leicht bemerkt, handelt es sich hier um eine planmäßig angelegte, erweiternde Ausführung der von Petrus im zweiten Haupttheile bereits kurz gegebenen Belehrungen, so daß das Bestreben des Verfassers, statt des wirren Durcheinanders im Barnabasbriefe einen wohlgeordneten Leitfaden zum Unterricht in der christlichen Sittenlehre zu liefern, offen genug zu Tage tritt. Vor

der eingehenderen Betrachtung der betreffenden Apostelsprüche erscheint es jedoch zweckmäßig, noch einmal auf die bereits mitgetheilten ersten beiden Haupttheile der Darstellung zurückzukommen.

Eine nähere Vergleichung mit dem Barnabasbriefe liefert nämlich das Ergebniß, daß die Kirchenordnung nicht bloß eine andere Reihenfolge und bessere Ordnung der einzelnen Aussprüche darbietet, sondern auch in der Lehrmeinung vom Barnabasbriefe abweicht oder doch wenigstens, was im Barnabasbriefe befremdlich und leicht anstößig gesagt ist, mit scharfer Betonung richtig stellt. Dieses gilt hauptsächlich von den zwei Sätzen des Barnabasbriefes: „Du sollst lieben deinen Nächsten mehr als deine Seele“ und: „Immerdar sollst du hassen den Bösen.“ *Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου* und *Εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸν πονηρόν* ¹⁾. Bezüglich des ersteren Ausspruches, der von dem biblischen Gebote: „Du sollst deinen Nächsten lieben wie dich selbst“ (*ὡς σεαυτόν*) ²⁾ nicht unerheblich abweicht, weist J. G. Müller ³⁾ nur auf Kap. I. und IV. des Barnabasbriefes hin, wonach die Redeweise „über“ oder „mehr als die Seele“ zu den Lieblingsausdrücken des Verfassers zählt, sowie auf die vielen Composita und Decomposita mit *ὑπέρ*, die mit der Vorliebe des Verfassers für hyperbolische Ausdrücke zusammenhängen. Doch ist hiermit das Bedenkliche der Abweichung vom biblischen Wortlaut nicht hinweggeräumt und selbst die Möglichkeit einer wirklichen Hete-

1) Barn. ep. c. 19.

2) Lev. 19, 18; Matth. 22, 39, a.

3) A. a. O. S. 357 f.; vergl. S. 55.

rodorix nicht ausgeschlossen, da der Barnabasbrief durch die Maßlosigkeit seiner Aufstellungen auch sonst gegen die christliche Anschauungsweise verstößt, z. B. indem er in seiner Bekämpfung des Judenthums die Behauptung wagt, das Bündniß, welches Gott den Israeliten verheißen habe, sei den letzteren wegen ihrer Sündhaftigkeit niemals wirklich zu Theil geworden, indem auch die Beschneidung niemals Bundeszeichen gewesen u. dgl. m. ¹⁾. Zum zweiten der oben angeführten Sätze aber: „Immerdar sollst du hassen den Bösen“ bemerkt J. Kaiser: „Was soll es heißen: Den Bösen hasse bis an's Ende? Die Liebe, Veröhnlichkeit, Milde, welche in dem ganzen Kapitel gepredigt wird, läßt uns hier nur an den Bösen par excellence denken, der Kap. 4. ὁ πονηρὸς ἄρχων heißt, nicht aber an einen bösen Menschen“ ²⁾. Ebenso versteht A. d. Harnack hier unter dem Bösen den Satan ³⁾. Hefele dagegen, dem Müller beistimmt, hält an dem zunächstliegenden Sinne, wie ihn die vorhergehenden und nachfolgenden Sätze fordern, fest mit dem Beifügen: „Auch den etwa auffallenden Ausdruck: „Den Ruchlosen hasse bis an's Ende,“ wird man zurechtlegen können, wenn man die Stelle cum grano salis verstehen und dabei an das, was den Menschen zu einem Ruchlosen macht, denken will.“ ⁴⁾ Diese Verschie-

1) c. 14 u. c. 9. Vgl. c. 2, 3, 10 u. 15. Hefele, Sendschreiben, S. 243 ff.

2) Über den sog. Barnabas-Brief. Paderb. 1866, S. 142.

3) Patr. apost. opp. p. 67.

4) Sendschreiben, S. 261. Müller, a. a. S. 368. Letzterer faßt zugleich den oben mit „immerdar“ wiedergegebenen Ausdruck εἰς τέλος hier im Unterschiede von c. 4 u. c. 10 für gleichbedeutend mit denique, τὸ τέλος, wofür der Verfasser sonst πέρας γέ τοι

denheit der Auffassungen genügt wohl zum Beweise, daß der fragliche Satz, wenn nicht unchristlich, doch jedenfalls dunkel ist und von Anfang an leicht Anstoß geben konnte. Welche Stellung nimmt nun die vorliegende Beschreibung des Lebensweges zu diesem sowie zum erstgenannten Aussprüche des Barnabasbriefes ein?

Nicht genug, daß bald anfangs das Gebot der Nächstenliebe in seiner biblischen Fassung: „Du sollst deinen Nächsten lieben wie dich selbst“ neben das Gebot der Gottesliebe gestellt und durch die Beifügung: „Alles, was du nicht willst, daß es dir geschehe, sollst du auch nicht dem Andern thun“ ebenso maßvoll als angemessen verdeutlicht wird, erklärt Petrus geradezu: „Du sollst nicht hassen irgend einen Menschen, sondern die einen zurechtweisen, der andern dich erbarmen, für andere beten, wieder andere lieben mehr als deine Seele.“ *Οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις, περὶ ὧν δὲ προσεύξη, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.* ¹⁾ Die Bezugnahme auf die beiden bedenklichen Sätze des Barnabasbriefes tritt hier augenfällig zu Tage. „Immerdar sollst du hassen den Bösen,“ sagt der Barnabasbrief; „Du sollst nicht hassen irgend einen Menschen,“ erklärt der Verfasser des Lebensweges. „Du sollst deinen Nächsten lieben mehr als deine Seele,“ lautet dort das Gebot der Nächstenliebe; „Du

sage. Doch bliebe der Satz „Schließlich hasse den Bösen“, vom Menschen verstanden, immer noch anstößig.

1) Hilgenfeld, IV. p. 97, 14—16.

bist in solchem Maße zur Nächstenliebe nicht allgemein verpflichtet," wird gleichsam in vorsichtiger Zurückhaltung hier dagegen bemerkt, „sondern es ist ein Unterschied zu machen zwischen den Mitmenschen: die einen sollst du zurecht weisen u. s. w. und nur unter besonderen Verhältnissen und Umständen wird es deine Pflicht sein, einen Nächsten mehr als deine eigene Seele zu lieben" ¹⁾. — Was aber folgt aus diesem Gegensatze zum Barnabasbriefe?

Ohne Zweifel zunächst dieses, daß der Barnabasbrief schon frühzeitig nicht bloß durch seine Planlosigkeit bei Schilderung der zwei Wege, sondern auch durch das Bedenkliche einzelner Aussprüche zu einer Umarbeitung dieses seines Abschnittes Anlaß gab, durch welche nicht bloß eine lehrhaftere Ordnung der Gedanken gewonnen, sondern auch jeder Zweifel über Art und Maß der Christenpflichten, wie ihn die auffällige Ausdrucksweise des Barnabasbriefes hervorrufen konnte, beseitigt werden sollte. Vergewärtigen wir uns nun aber außerdem, wie bald nach seinem Erscheinen der in Rede stehende Brief, ohne daß derselbe sich selbst für ein Werk des heiligen Barnabas ausgibt, dem letzteren beigelegt und mit apostolischem Ansehen ausgestattet wurde, da schon Clemens von Alexandrien und nach ihm Origenes hierfür zum Beweise dienen ²⁾: so leuchtet ein, daß die zu veröffentlichende Umarbeitung oder Gegenschrift nicht wohl ohne den Namen und das Ansehen eines noch

1) Vgl. 2 Cor. 12, 15; Röm. 9, 3; Exod. 32, 32.

2) Funk, Patr. apost. opp. pag. I.

höheren apostolischen Mannes herauszugeben war, sei es, daß der Verfasser wirklich an die höchste erreichbare Instanz, an die cathedra Petri zu Rom, sich wendete ¹⁾ und von dort eine Entscheidung, ein Judicium Petri oder secundum Petrum ²⁾ hinsichtlich der zwei Wege einholte, daß er in seiner Bearbeitung mittheilte, sei es, daß er auf eigene Verantwortung hin, mit welcher es jene Zeit nicht gerade streng nahm ³⁾, das Ansehen des Petrus dem des Barnabas gegenüber stellte. In beiden Fällen erklärt sich uns hier der von Rufinus überlieferte doppelte Titel: „Die zwei Wege oder die Entscheidung des (oder nach) Petrus,“ ohne daß wir genöthigt sind, mit Alb. Fabricius an die Entscheidung des Herkules bezüglich der zwei Wege ⁴⁾ zu denken, als ob den Christen des zweiten Jahrhunderts auch der Apostel Petrus berathschlagend und zweifelnd, welchen Weg er einschlagen solle, dargestellt worden wäre. — Doch gehen wir nun zu dem noch nicht näher betrachteten dritten Haupttheile der vorliegenden Schilderung weiter, der mit dem Spruche des Andreas beginnt.

1) Cf. Tertullianus, De praescript. c. 36; Irenaeus, Adv. haer. III, 3, 2.

2) Über die handschriftliche Bezeugung beider Fassungen des Titels s. v.

3) Außer dem Judicium erschien noch ein Evangelium secundum Petrum und eine Apocalypsis Petri, wozu noch Petri et Pauli Acta und Petri et Pauli Praedicatio kommen. S. die Fragmente dieser Schriften bei Hilgenfeld, N. T. extra c., IV, p. 39 ss.

4) Judicium autem dicitur, erklärt Fabricius zu der Nachricht des Rufinus (Cod. apocryph. N. T. T. II, p. 802), eadem ratione, qua Prodicus olim descripsit Judicium Herculis, quod tulit de duabus viis, altera virtutis, altera voluptatum. Cf. Xenoph. Memor. II, 1, 21 s.

Es begegnen uns hier zunächst fünf Abschnitte, welche regelmäßig mit der Anrede „Kind“, τέκνον, eingeleitet werden und schon dadurch von den vorhergehenden Theilen, welchen diese Anrede fehlt, sich abheben. Die einzelnen Sprüche stellen sich auf diese Weise gleichsam als väterliche Mahnworte dar, wie sie einem noch minder lebenskundigen Neulinge gegeben zu werden pflegen. In der That bildet die Empfehlung eines möglichst vorsichtigen Wandels eine erste Eigenthümlichkeit, durch welche der dritte Haupttheil von dem zweiten sich unterscheidet und zugleich als angemessene Fortsetzung und Erweiterung des bisherigen planmäßig angelegten Unterrichts sich ausweist. Andreas nämlich spricht: „Mein Kind, fliehe vor allem Bösen und vor allem, was ihm ähnlich ist! Werde nicht zornig: denn der Zorn führt zum Morde (denn es ist ein männlicher Dämon die Hestigkeit); werde nicht neidisch und nicht zänfisch und nicht leidenschaftlich: denn daraus entsteht Mord.“ — Philippus: „Kind, werde nicht gierig: denn die Gier führt zur Hurerei und schleppt die Menschen zu ihr¹⁾. (Denn es giebt einen weiblichen Dämon der Gier, und der eine (sic) stürzt in Vereinigung mit Zorn, der andere in Vereinigung mit Lust diejenigen, welche sie (!) einlassen, in's Verderben. Der Weg eines bösen Dämon aber ist Verfehlung der Seele. Und wenn er einen schmalen Eingang hat im Menschen, erweitert er ihn und führt jene Seele zu allen schlechten Dingen und läßt den Menschen nicht aufblicken und die Wahrheit sehen. Eure Hestigkeit soll Maß haben und in kurzem Abstände zügelt und unterdrückt sie, damit sie euch

1) L. πρὸς αὐτήν, nicht πρὸς ἑαυτήν, wie die Herausgeber schreiben. S. w. u.

nicht in ein schlimmes Unternehmen stürze. Denn Heftigkeit und Lust werden schlimme Dämonen, die gewöhnlich nach dem Maße ihrer Anspannung andauern. Und sobald der Mensch auf sie achtet, schwellen sie in seiner Seele auf und werden größer und reißen ihn fort zu ungerechten Werken und lachen dazu. Sie freuen sich über das Verderben der Menschen.)" — Simon: „Kind, werde nicht ein Mensch, der schändliche Reden führt, noch auch ein solcher, der die Augen hoch trägt: denn daraus entstehen Ehebrechereien." — Jakobus: „Kind, werde nicht ein Vogelflugschauer, indem es zum Götzendienste führt, auch nicht ein Zaubersänger und nicht ein Erforscher der Zahl- und Raumgeheimnisse ¹⁾ und nicht ein Reinigungsmeister ²⁾ und wolle davon nicht wissen noch hören: denn aus dem allen entstehen Götzendienereien." — Nathanael: „Kind, werde nicht ein Lügner, indem die Lüge zum Diebstahle führt, und nicht ein geldgieriger und nicht ein ruhmstüchtiger Mensch: denn aus dem allen entstehen Diebereien." —

Zur richtigen Beurtheilung dieser fünf Apostelreden oder väterlichen Mahnworte ist nun vor allem hervorzuheben, daß augenscheinlich, was über die Dämonen gesagt wird und von uns oben durch Klammern von dem übrigen Texte abgesondert wurde, nicht dem Darsteller des Lebensweges angehört. Denn zwar erinnert Hilgenfeld ³⁾ an *Hermæ Past. Mand. II* und Si-

1) *μηδὲ μαθηματικός*, was Bickell a. a. O. S. 115 mit „Sterndeuter“ wiedergiebt.

2) *μηδὲ περικαθαίρων*, „Ausüber von Sühngebräuchen“ (Bickell, a. a. O.), vergl. *Virg. Aen. VI*, 229 ss.

3) *L. c. IV*, p. 105 u. *III*, p. 37.

mil. IX, 22 und 33, wo Verläumdung, Anmaßung und Unfrieden als böse Dämonen bezeichnet werden, sowie an Origenes, Tom. XX. 29 in Joan., wo von solchen die Rede ist, welche auch Sünden, die für die geringsten gehalten werden, Dämonen beilegen und demgemäß die Scharfgalligkeit als einen Dämon bezeichnen, desgleichen aber auch die Verläumdung. Außerdem wies schon Lagarde¹⁾ auf Clemens von Alexandrien hin, der Stromata III, c. 9, p. 539 ed. Potter. die Eier für etwas Weibliches erklärt. Aber wenngleich hiernach die obigen Aufstellungen, die Hestigkeit sei ein männlicher, die Eier ein weiblicher Dämon, minder befremden, so ist doch, was über diese beiden Dämonen ausgeführt wird, im Unterschiede von den übrigen knapp an einander gereihten Erklärungen so breit und läppiſch gehalten, dabei auch die Rede an mehrere Zuhörer gerichtet²⁾, obſchon Philippus gleich den vier anderen ſeine Belehrung anfangs einer Person in der Einzahl giebt, daß die Fremdartigkeit und ſpättere Einſchiebung der in Rede ſtehenden Sätze wohl nicht bezweifelt werden kann. Um ſo unanſechtbarer erſcheint dagegen das hohe Alter der meiſten übrigen Ausſprüche der vorliegenden Mahnworte, da ſchon Clemens von Alexandrien den Satz: „Sohn, werde nicht ein Lügner: denn die Lüge führt zum Diebſtahle“ (ſ. o.) als einen Ausſpruch der „Schrift“ anführt und auch das ſiebente Buch der apoſt. Conſtit. durch ſeine mehrfache wörtliche Übereinſtimmung mit dem vorliegenden Texte eine Quelle verräth, die mindestens folgende Sätze enthielt: „Fliehe vor allem Böſen und vor allem, was ihm

1) L. c. p. 75.

2) „Eure Hestigkeit ſoll Maß halten“ u. ſ. w.

ähnlich ist. Werde nicht zornig und nicht neidisch und nicht zänfisch und nicht leidenschaftlich: denn daraus entsteht Mord. Werde nicht gierig; werde nicht ein Mensch, der schändliche Reden führt, noch auch ein solcher, der die Augen hoch trägt: denn daraus entstehen Ehebrechereien. Werde nicht ein Vogelflugschauer, indem es zum Götzendienste führt, nicht ein Zaubersänger, nicht ein Reinigungsmeister, nicht ein Erforscher der Zahl- und Raumgeheimnisse. Werde nicht ein geldgieriger und nicht ein ruhmstüchtiger Mensch" ¹⁾. — Dieser Nachweis des hohen Alters obiger Aussprüche erscheint aber deshalb von einigem Belang, weil dieselben im Unterschiede von den übrigen Abschnitten des Lebensweges das Besondere haben, daß sie ohne alle Entlehnungen aus dem Barnabasbriefe abgefaßt sind. Es ergiebt sich hieraus, daß der Autor des in der Kirchenordnung mitgetheilten Lebensweges sich nicht darauf beschränkte, die Aussprüche des eben genannten Briefes über die zwei Wege zweckmäßig zu ordnen und richtig zu stellen, sondern auch selbstständige Zusätze beifügte, sobald dies zu der von ihm geplanten Darstellung dienlich schien.

Im Übrigen finden wir auch hier den darzulegenden Gegenstand in faßlicher Ordnung abgehandelt. Das erste der fünf Mahnworte warnt vor Sünden, die zum Morde führen, das zweite und dritte vor Verfehrtheiten, aus welchen Hurerei und Ehebruch entspringt, das fünfte vor Fehlern, die den Menschen zum Diebe werden lassen. Die abermalige Anlehnung an die Verbote der zweiten Tafel des Dekalogs, welche sich schon im zweiten Haupt-

1) L. c. c. 5 u. 6.

theile bemerken ließ, springt von selbst in die Augen. Auffällig erscheint nur die an vierter Stelle eingeschobene Warnung vor den Dingen, die zum Götzendienste verleiten, da das Götzdienstverbot zur ersten mosaischen Gesetzestafel gehört. Erinuert man sich indeß, daß nach biblischer Auffassung (Hos. 2, 2) ¹⁾ Götzdienst geistiger Ehebruch ist, so wird diese Einschiegung wohl erklärlich, vorausgesetzt, daß der Verfasser es für angemessen erachtete, in seiner Darstellung der Christenpflichten, in welcher aus dem schon dargelegten Grunde das Gebot der Gottesliebe den ersten Platz erhalten hatte, hiernach aber sofort das Gebot der Nächstenliebe hinzugesügt und unter Benutzung der Verbote der zweiten Gesetzestafel näher erklärt worden war, auch die Verbote der ersten Tafel nicht völlig unberücksichtigt zu lassen.

Daß aber der Gedankengang des Verfassers thatsächlich auch im dritten Haupttheile zunächst an die Verbote der zweiten mosaischen Gesetzestafel sich anlehnt, verrathen auch die noch folgenden Belehrungen, die zuvörderst abermals als väterliches Mahnwort sich einführen, jedoch im Unterschiede von den vorhergehenden fünf Abschnitten wieder zum Barnabasbriefe zurückgreifen. „Kind“ ²⁾, so lautet nämlich die Fortsetzung des zuletzt Angeführten, „werde nicht murrfinnig, indem es zur Schmäherei führt, und nicht anmaßend und nicht übel-

1) Auch im Hirten des Hermas Mand. IV, c. 1. wird der Abfall zum Götzdienste als Ehebruch bezeichnet, ja gleich der ehelichen Untreue als ein Grund zur zeitweiligen Trennung christlicher Eheleute hingestellt.

2) An dieser Stelle fehlt, obschon die erneute Anrede den Anfang eines neuen Mahnwortes kenntlich macht, der Name des Apostels, welcher das Folgende vorträgt. S. hierüber w. u.

denkend: denn aus diesem allen entstehen Schmähreden. Sei vielmehr sanftmüthig, indem die Sanftmüthigen das Himmelreich erben. Werde langmüthig, barmherzig, friedfertig, rein im Herzen von allem Bösen, arglos und ruhig, gut und behutsam und zitternd hinsichtlich der Worte, die du gehört hast. Du sollst nicht dich selbst erhöhen und nicht gestatten deiner Seele Verwegenheit und nicht anhängen mit deiner Seele den Hochgestellten, sondern mit den Gerechten und Demüthigen umgehen. Die dich treffenden Schickungen sollst du für gut hinnehmen, wissend, daß ohne Gott nichts geschieht." — An die Mahnworte hinsichtlich des fünften, sechsten und siebenten der Zehngebote reihen sich demnach Warnungen, welche den Mißbrauch der Zunge sowie alle Unordnungen des Innenlebens mit seinen Gedanken, Begierden, Erregungen und Hinneigungen verhüten sollen. Die Ähnlichkeit dieses Gedankenfortschrittes mit demjenigen des Dekalogus bedarf wohl keines näheren Nachweises.

Doch der Verfasser steht noch nicht am Schlusse seiner Ausführungen. „Thomas“, so heißt es weiter, indem ein siebentes und letztes Mahnwort hinzugefügt wird, „sprach: Kind, denjenigen, welcher zu dir das Wort Gottes redet und dir ein Miturheber des Lebens wird und dir das Siegel im Herrn verlieh, sollst du lieben wie deinen Augapfel, sein gedenken bei Nacht und bei Tage, ihn ehren wie den Herrn: denn woher die Würde des Herrn in der Rede mitgetheilt wird, daselbst ist der Herr. Du sollst aber auffuchen seine Gegenwart täglich und die Übrigen, damit du dich an ihren Worten erquickest, indem du ihnen anhängst: denn als ein Heiliger sollst du durch Heilige geheiligt werden. (Du sollst ihn

ehren, je nachdem du es im Stande bist, mit deinem Schweiß und mit der Arbeit deiner Hände. Denn wenn der Herr durch ihn für würdig erachtete dir geistige Speise und Trank und ewiges Leben verleihen zu lassen, so bist du viel mehr schuldig die vergängliche und zeitliche Speise darzubringen: denn werth ist der Arbeiter des Lohnes und dem dreschenden Ochsen sollst du das Maul nicht verbinden und Niemand pflanzt einen Weinberg und genießt nicht von seiner Frucht.)“

Soweit die Rede des Thomas. Die von uns eingeklammerten Sätze entbehren des rechten Zusammenhanges mit dem Vorhergehenden, da zuletzt nicht vom Lehrer, sondern von den übrigen Gläubigen die Rede war. Auch ist die Wiederholung der Worte: „Du sollst ihn ehren“ auffällig. Zudem fehlt dieser Abschnitt in den apostol. Constit. VII c. 9, wo das Vorhergehende — in freier Wiedergabe — Aufnahme gefunden hat. Derselbe dürfte deshalb eine spätere Zugabe sein, die übrigens, nach ihrer schwunghafteren Sprache zu schließen, ursprünglich wohl nicht vom Verfasser des oben besprochenen Abschnittes über die Dämonen stammt, sondern vielleicht durch den letzteren nur irgend woher entlehnt und hier eingeschaltet worden ist. — Das Ganze aber knüpft zwar an den Barnabasbrief an, stellt sich jedoch auch in einen merkwürdigen Gegensatz zu demselben. „Du sollst lieben wie deinen Augapfel jeden“, lesen wir dort, „welcher zu dir des Herrn Wort redet“. „Denjenigen,“ heißt es dagegen hier, „welcher zu dir das Wort Gottes redet und dir ein Miturheber des Lebens wird und dir das Siegel des Herrn verlieh, sollst du lieben wie deinen Augapfel“. Offenbar ist es wieder die Maßlosigkeit und

Zerfahrenheit des Ausdruckes im Barnabasbriefe, was den Verfasser des vorliegenden Mahnwortes zur Abweichung veranlaßt hat. Nicht jedweder, der mit dem Worte Gottes im Munde sich bei einem Gläubigen einführt, soll deshalb schon der höchsten Werthschätzung empfohlen sein, sondern nur der eigentliche geistige Vater und ordentliche Lehrer und Priester der Gemeinde, welcher einst dem Gläubigen das Siegel des Herrn, d. h. die Sakramente der Wiedergeburt ¹⁾, gespendet hat und jetzt noch immerfort ihm das Wort Gottes verkündigt und durch Vermittlung der geistigen Speise ihm zum ewigen Leben behilflich ist. Ebenso will der Verfasser unseres Mahnwortes, obschon er den Anschluß an die übrigen Gemeindeglieder und den Umgang mit frommen Personen keineswegs unterschätzt, vielmehr offen empfiehlt, doch nichts von einem Gemeindeleben wissen, wie es der Barnabasbrief unterstellt, wonach jeder Gläubige täglich an den übrigen Gläubigen Seelsorge üben oder ihnen leibliche Almosen zur Sühne für seine Sünden spenden soll. Denn diesen Sinn haben ohne Zweifel die Worte: „Du sollst gedenken des Gerichtstages bei Nacht und bei Tage und aufsuchen an jeglichem Tage die Gegenwart der Heiligen, indem du entweder vermittelst des Wortes dich bemühst und hinwandelst zum Ermahnen und sinnest auf die Seelenrettung durch das Wort, oder vermittelst deiner Hände sollst du hinarbeiten auf ein Lösegeld für deine Sünden ²⁾“.

1) S. J. Probst, Sakramente und Sakramentalien in den 3 ersten christl. Jahrh. Tüb. 1872, S. 98 u. 159 ff.

2) Epist. Barn. c. 19. Vgl. Constit. apost. VII, c. 12 und J. G. Müller, a. a. O. S. 366.

— Doch warum bringt der Verfasser das pflichtmäßige Verhalten gegen den geistlichen Vorgesetzten erst an siebenter Stelle, nach Auslegung aller Verbote der zweiten Gesetzestafel, zur Sprache, da im Hinblick auf das verwandte Gebot, die leiblichen Eltern zu ehren, und dessen Stellung in der Reihe der Zehngebote doch eine andere Ordnung der Mahnworte richtiger scheinen konnte? Die Übereinstimmung des Gedankenganges im dritten und im zweiten Haupttheile wäre durch Voranstellung des siebenten Mahnwortes bald anfangs verloren gegangen und so die gegenwärtige, durchsichtige und lehrhaft ansprechende Planmäßigkeit des Ganzen beeinträchtigt worden. Wie sich auf Grund der bisherigen Nachweisungen jetzt schon sagen läßt, zeigen die drei Haupttheile, aus welchen die vorliegende Schilderung des Lebensweges besteht, eine ebenmäßige innere Zusammensetzung, infolgedessen die einzelnen Theile sich von selbst zu einem einzigen Ganzen aneinanderschließen. Umfaßt der erste Haupttheil erst das Gebot der Gottesliebe und dann den positiven Wortlaut und die negative Umschreibung des Gebotes der Nächstenliebe, so erläutert der zweite Haupttheil erst die negative Umschreibung und dann noch den positiven Wortlaut der letztgenannten Hauptpflicht. Der dritte Haupttheil aber fügt zu dieser Erläuterung eine Anzahl Mahnworte hinzu, welche sich zunächst den dekalogischen Grundgedanken eben dieser Erläuterung der Reihe nach anschließen, dann aber auch — an letzter Stelle — noch den Schlußtheil der Erläuterung, welcher sich nicht mehr auf den Dekalog, sondern auf den positiven Wortlaut des Gebotes der Nächstenliebe bezieht, angemessen berücksichtigen. Denn zwar handelt das siebente Mahnwort vor allem von der Pflicht gegen die

geistlichen Vorgesetzten und insofern nicht sofort von der schuldigen allgemeinen Nächstenliebe überhaupt. Aber einentheils wird auf diese Weise nur derselbe Gedankengang eingehalten wie im Matthäusevangelium 19, 17 ff., wo der Heiland die zum Leben führenden Gebote mit folgenden Worten aufzählt: „Du sollst nicht tödten, nicht ehebrechen, nicht stehlen, nicht falsches Zeugniß geben, ehre den Vater und die Mutter und du sollst deinen Nächsten lieben wie dich selbst.“ Wenigstens kann es im Hinblick auf diese Stelle nicht befremden, daß vor dem Gebot der allgemeinen Nächstenliebe erst die besondere Liebespflicht gegen die nächststehenden Mitmenschen zur Sprache kommt, auch wenn dabei mit Rücksicht auf die zu berichtenden Aussprüche des Barnabasbriefes statt der leiblichen Eltern der geistige Ernährer und das richtige Verhalten gegen diesen in Erinnerung gebracht wird. Andernthetls schließt sich ein Hinweis auf die allgemeinen Liebespflichten, wie sie ohne Unterschied der persönlichen Beziehungen durch Bethätigung der geistlichen und leiblichen Barmherzigkeit geübt werden sollen, in der That an das bisher Mitgetheilte noch unmittelbar an, indem es zum Schluß heißt:

„Du sollst nicht Spaltungen verursachen, vielmehr zum Frieden bringen die Streitenden; du sollst gerecht richten; du sollst nicht persönliche Rücksicht nehmen beim Zurechtweisen wegen eines Fehltrittes: denn nicht Reichthum gilt beim Herrn, denn nicht Würden zieht er vor, auch nützt nicht Schönheit, sondern Gleichheit Aller herrscht bei ihm. In deinem Gebet sollst du nicht zweifeln, ob es sein wird oder nicht ¹⁾: sei nicht ein Mensch, der seine

1) Dieser Satz ist dem Barnabasbriefe entnommen, wie

Hände ausstreckt zum Empfangen, zum Geben aber sie einzieht. Wenn du hast, so gieb vermittelst deiner Hände zur Sühne deiner Sünden. Du sollst dich nicht besinnen zum Geben und sollst nicht murren, wenn du gibst: denn du wirst erkennen, wer der gute Lohnerstatter ist. Du sollst dich nicht abwenden vom Bedürftigen, sondern Gemeinschaft gewähren in allen Dingen deinem Bruder und nichts eigen nennen¹⁾: denn wenn ihr im Unsterblichen Genossen seid, um wie viel mehr in den vergänglichen Dingen."

Diese Worte spricht Kephas, sie entbehren jedoch der Anrede „Kind“, die sonst im dritten Haupttheile den Beginn eines neuen Abschnittes kennzeichnet, jedenfalls gehören sie inhaltlich noch zum siebenten Mahnworte, indem sie die dort zu erwartenden Vorschriften bezüglich der allgemeinen Nächstenliebe thatsächlich aussprechen. Diese

alle übrigen Gebote des vorliegenden Abschnittes; doch fehlt dort der erklärende Zusatz: „in deinem Gebete.“ Der Hirt des Hermas widmet der Verdeutlichung und Einschränkung derselben Vorschrift ein eigenes Hauptstück (Mand. IX), aus welchem sich ergibt, daß es sich hierbei um eine völlig uneingeschränkte Ermahnung zum vertrauensvollen Gebet handelt. An der obigen Stelle läßt sich gleichwohl die Einschaltung des Sages wohl nur verstehen, wenn derselbe auf das besondere Gebet um den nöthigen Lebensunterhalt und auf die Verheißungen des Herrn Matth. 6, 25 ff., welche den Menschen zur Freigebigkeit geneigt machen, bezogen wird, da ein anderer Zusammenhang mit den nachfolgenden Sprüchen kaum denkbar ist.

1) Hätte der Verfasser nicht auch diese Vorschrift des Barnabasbriefes mäßigen und richtig stellen sollen? Allerdings, wenn die kommunistische Auffassung die nächstliegende wäre. Vrgl. jedoch die Grundstelle Act. 4, 32, welche bereits dieser Auslegung widerstrebt, indem unter den ersten Christen zu Jerusalem zwar Niemand etwas sein eigen nannte, aber deshalb aller Privatbesitz noch keineswegs ein Ende hatte. S. J. G. Müller, a. a. O. S. 362.

Worte bilden aber auch den Schluß der vorliegenden Schilderung des Lebensweges selbst, da die noch folgende Rede des Bartholomäus sich bereits mit einer allgemein gehaltenen Ermahnung zu unablässigem Eifer an die „Brüder“ wendet, ohne noch die Beschreibung des Lebensweges fortsetzen. Die Darstellung des Todesweges aber fehlt in der Kirchenordnung gänzlich: wie läßt sich dieses Fehlen erklären?

Vor allem unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, daß es die anfängliche Absicht des Verfassers war, nicht bloß den Lebensweg, sondern auch den Todesweg zu beschreiben. Dies ergibt sich deutlich aus seinen Anfangsworten: „Es sind zwei Wege, der eine des Lebens und der andere des Todes. Aber der Unterschied ist groß zwischen den zwei Wegen. Denn der Weg des Lebens einerseits ist dieser“ ¹⁾. Im Barnabasbriefe wird der Unterschied der zwei Wege zunächst durch die Bemerkung verdeutlicht, daß dem einen Lichtengel Gottes, dem andern Engel des Satans vorstehen ²⁾. Diese Bemerkung übergeht unser Autor und verweist uns, um die Größe des Unterschiedes zwischen dem Lebens- und dem Todeswege zu erkennen, sofort auf

1) Ὀδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου. διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη. Hilgenfeld, l. c. IV, p. 96, 21—23.

2) Ὀδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδασκῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἡ τε τοῦ φωτός καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους. Διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. Ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γὰρ εἰσὶν τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν κύριος ἀπ' αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας. Ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αὕτη. Barn. ep. c. XVIII u. XIX.

die nachfolgende Schilderung selbst. Unmöglich kann es da sein Gedanke gewesen sein, nur den einen Weg zu schildern, indem dadurch ja jede Vergleichung und Bemessung des Unterschiedes vereitelt worden wäre. Auf die Absicht, eine Schilderung des Todesweges später nachfolgen zu lassen, deutet denn auch das Wörtchen μέν (das nicht aus dem Barnabasbriefe herübergenommen ist, wo das Wörtchen οὖν steht,) in der Ankündigung der Schilderung des Lebensweges unzweifelhaft hin. Wie also ist das nachherige Fehlen der Schilderung des Todesweges zu verstehen?

Aus der bisherigen Darlegung des Inhaltes des Lebensweges geht zur Genüge hervor, mit welchem Ernste der Verfasser dieses Lehrstückes nach einer wohlgeordneten und planmäßig voranschreitenden Darstellung trachtete. Es erscheint deshalb nicht glaublich, daß eben dieser Schriftsteller seinen anfänglichen Plan mitten in der Arbeit selbst fallen gelassen und gleichwohl weiter gearbeitet habe. Seinem Vorhaben gemäß hat derselbe vielmehr sicherlich auch den Todesweg beschrieben. Der betreffende Abschnitt, dessen Umfang im Hinblick auf die entsprechenden Ausführungen im Barnabasbriefe (c. 20) und im siebenten Buche der apost. Constit. (c. 18) nicht beträchtlich gedacht zu werden braucht, ist also vielleicht nur durch ein Versehen eines Abschreibers ausgefallen und hat ursprünglich in der Kirchenordnung gestanden?

Die einzig mögliche Stelle für den Todesweg wäre zwischen den obigen Worten des Kephäs und der Schlußermahnung des Bartholomäus. Aber welcher Apostel oder Apostelgenosse sollte hier geredet haben? In der Einleitung der Kirchenordnung wird ein Verzeichniß der Männer, welche in der ersten Hälfte dieser Schrift auf-

treten, im voraus mitgetheilt ¹⁾. Bitra ²⁾ vermuthet, daß dasselbe von späterer Hand herrühre und aus den nachfolgenden Angaben der Kirchenordnung über die einzelnen Redner zusammengestellt sei. Dem widerspricht jedoch der Umstand, daß das Verzeichniß auf diese Weise nicht entstehen konnte, da Judas Sakobi, welcher den Schluß der Liste bildet, in der Kirchenordnung, wie sie vorliegt, nirgends redend eingeführt wird oder, wenn die Angabe der äthiopischen Übersetzung, wonach Judas das sechste, im griechischen Texte unbenannte Mahnwort vorträgt, eine größere Bedeutung als die einer bloßen Vermuthung beanspruchen dürfte ³⁾, zwischen Nathanael und Thomas erwähnt werden müßte, nicht aber wie im Verzeichniß als letzter von allen. Das in Rede stehende Namensverzeichnis muß deshalb, wie auch Hilgenfeld ⁴⁾ schließt, unabhängig von dem nachfolgenden Texte der Kirchenordnung entstanden sein und bei der Textvertheilung an die

1) Hilgenfeld, IV, p. 95, 5—8.

2) L. c. p. 87.

3) Wie Bickell a. a. O. S. 115 aus J. Ludolfi comment. in histor. Aeth. anführt, beginnt in der äthiopischen Übersetzung der Kirchenordnung das sechste Mahnwort mit der Bemerkung: Infit Judas: O fili mi, ne sis quaerulus etc. Nun fehlt aber der Name des Judas an dieser Stelle nicht bloß im griechischen Texte, sondern auch in der memphitischen und in der thebanischen Übersetzung, aus welch' letzterer erst die Übertragung in's Äthiopische stattgefunden hat. Lagarde, l. c. p. X u. 76. Die Angabe des Äthiopen kann deshalb nur für eine Vermuthung gelten, welche im Hinblick auf die Namenlosigkeit des sechsten Mahnwortes sowie auf das Stillschweigen des Judas ja nahe liegt, aber bei der Nachlässigkeit, mit welcher die Textvertheilung an die Apostel überhaupt geschehen ist (s. die Fortsetzung des obigen Textes), nicht berechtigt erscheint.

4) L. c. IV, p. 105.

einzelnen Apostel bereits fertig vorgelegen haben. Nun ist allerdings schon diese Textvertheilung eine so nachlässige und ungeschickte, daß es schwer fällt, dieselbe dem Verfasser des Lebensweges selbst zuzuschreiben. Der erste Haupttheil, welcher die beiden Gebote der Liebe enthält, wird ungeachtet seiner Kürze an zwei Apostel vergeben, die Theilung aber nicht in der Weise vorgenommen, daß der eine das Gebot der Gottesliebe und der andere das der Nächstenliebe vorträgt, sondern so, daß der zweite vom Gebote der Nächstenliebe nur noch die negative Umschreibung beizufügen hat. Das sechste Mahnwort ferner erhält überhaupt keinen Vertreter, sondern fällt mit dem fünften zusammen dem Nathanael zu, wogegen das siebente Mahnwort auf zwei Redner sich vertheilt. Nach der Schlußermahnung des Bartholomäus endlich ist noch ein Apostel übrig, welcher nicht mehr zu Worte kommt. Indeß will man auch hieraus nicht bereits folgern, daß der Verfasser der Kirchenordnung ein anderer als der des Lebensweges ist, so konnte, nachdem Kephas das Letzte über den Lebensweg vorgetragen, eine etwa noch beabsichtigte Schilderung des Todesweges doch nur dem Bartholomäus als dem nächsten im Rednerverzeichnisse in den Mund gelegt werden, so daß für Judas Jakobi dann noch die Schlußermahnung übrig geblieben wäre. Der Verfasser der Kirchenordnung jedoch hat dies nicht so beliebt, sondern bereits von Bartholomäus die Schlußermahnung vortragen lassen, obschon infolge dessen Judas leer ausgehen mußte.

Hieraus folgt 1., daß nicht erst ein späterer Abschreiber, sondern schon der Verfasser der Kirchenordnung selbst die Schilderung des Todesweges ausgelassen hat, — ferner

2., daß der Verfasser der Kirchenordnung und der Darsteller des Lebensweges in der Kirchenordnung zwei verschiedene Personen sind, da der erstere that, was gegen des leheren Plan und Absicht war, — sowie 3., daß der Verfasser der Kirchenordnung eine auf den Barnabasbrief Bezug nehmende Darstellung der zwei Wege, die zugleich als Entscheidung des Petrus bezeichnet werden konnte, bereits vorgefunden und für seinen Zweck — nicht gerade mit feinem Gefühl und Verständniß — ausgeschrieben und verarbeitet hat.

4.

Die Rechtsvorschriften der Kirchenordnung.

Behufs möglichster Sicherstellung des bereits gewonnenen Ergebnisses erscheint es nun angemessen, bevor wir zur Darstellung der zwei Wege in den apostol. Constit. weiter gehen, auch die übrigen Bestandtheile der Kirchenordnung wenigstens kurz zu betrachten. Wir richten zu diesem Zweck unsere Aufmerksamkeit zuerst auf die **Rechtsvorschriften** der Kirchenordnung. Dieselben finden sich in der zweiten Hälfte der genannten Schrift und bilden hier den eigentlichen Gegenstand der Darstellung. Ihre Bedeutung für das Ganze ist also eine ähnliche, wie die des Lebensweges in der ersten Hälfte. Welche Erscheinung bieten uns nun diese Rechtsvorschriften dar?

Eine Reihe von Sätzen trägt deutlich das Gepräge hohen kirchlichen Alterthums an sich: aber dazwischen finden sich Bemerkungen, welche ebenso deutlich als spätere und zum Theil recht sonderbare Thaten sich erweisen.

Die erste Vorschrift handelt von der Bischofswahl, wobei sehr kleine Gemeinden vorausgesetzt werden. Der zu wählende soll unter Anderem einen guten Ruf bei den Heiden haben (*ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων* vgl. 1 Tim. 3, 7), unbeweibt sein außer höchstens von einem Weibe her ¹⁾ und die Schrift zu erklären verstehen, oder, wenn ohne Schulkenntnisse, wenigstens durch Liebe hervorragen.

Dem neubestellten Oberhirten sodann liegt es ob, so erklärt die zweite Vorschrift, aus den Männern seiner Umgebung Priester zu bestellen. „Johannes“, heißt es wörtlich, „sprach: Der bestellte Bischof, bekannt mit der Verwendbarkeit und Frömmigkeit der Männer seiner Umgebung soll zwei Priester bestellen, welche er bewährt gefunden. Alle widersprachen: nicht zwei, sondern drei! Denn es sind vierundzwanzig Priester, zwölf zur Rechten und zwölf zur Linken. Johannes sprach: Eure Erinnerung, Brüder, ist zutreffend: denn die zur Rechten empfangen von den Erzengeln die Schalen und bringen sie dem Gebieter dar, die zur Linken achten auf die Menge der Engel. Es sollen nun die Priester sein bereits alt- und welterfahren u. s. w.“ Der Grund, welcher hier für die geforderte Dreizahl der Priester angegeben wird, leuchtet nicht recht ein. E. d. B ö h m e r ²⁾ versucht folgende Erklärung. Wie im Himmel (vgl. Apoc. 4, 4 und 5, 8)

1) *Καλὸν μὲν εἶναι ἀγόναιος, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀπὸ μιᾶς γυναικός.* Hilgenfeld, l. c. IV, p. 101, 17 s. Pitra, l. c. p. 87, erklärt hierzu: Vel absona haec verba sunt vel clare sonant oportere episcopum esse aut caelibem aut unius uxoris viduum. Doch liegt in den Textworten nicht mehr als: „Wenn der zu wählende nicht unbeweibt ist, so soll dies nur von einem Weibe herkommen,“ wobei unberücksichtigt bleibt, ob diese eine noch lebt oder nicht.

2) A. a. O. S. 176.

den Priestern zur Rechten und denen zur Linken noch Erzengel vorgesetzt seien (!? ob schon sie jenen dienen, da sie ihnen die Schalen reichen?), so müßten in der Gesamtkirche über den zweimal zwölf Priestern noch einmal zwölf Erzpriester bestellt und deshalb in jeder einzelnen Gemeinde, die gleichsam einen Stamm des neuen Israel darzustellen habe, nicht nur zwei Priester, einer zur Rechten und einer zur Linken, sein, sondern noch ein dritter, der ihnen vorstehe ¹⁾. Dieser mühsame Versuch, zwischen der geforderten Dreizahl von Priestern und den zur Begründung der Forderung angeführten vierundzwanzig Priestern des himmlischen Dienstes einen Zusammenhang zu finden, zeigt wohl zur Genüge, daß ein solcher thatsächlich nicht vorhanden ist. Hilgenfeld ²⁾ erachtet deshalb trotz der handschriftlichen Übereinstimmung sowohl des griechischen Originals als der alten Übersetzungen eine Textänderung für geboten und schreibt statt zwei alsbald zwölf sowie statt drei — vierundzwanzig, indem er dabei an die Zwölfszahl der Priester in den Pseudo-Clementinischen Recogn. VI, 15 und Hom. IX, 36 erinnert, welche Zahl nun bereits nicht mehr genügend erschienen sei. Diesem Auswege steht indeß die Schwierigkeit entgegen, daß sehr kleine Gemeinden vorausgesetzt sind. „Wenn die Zahl der Männer“, so beginnt die vorhin schon skizzierte erste Rechtsvorschrift, „gering ist und sich wo keine Menge findet von solchen, die wegen eines Bischofs eine Wahl

1) Die Absicht des Verfassers soll nach Böhmer dahin gehen, den Archipresbyterat vom Episkopat zu trennen und dadurch den letzteren zu heben. (!)

2) L. c. IV, p. 101 u. 106.

treffen können, weniger als zwölf Männer, so soll man an die Nachbarkirchen schreiben u. s. w.“ Einem Bischofe, der solch einer Gemeinde vorgelegt worden, konnte offenbar nicht schon im nächsten Apostelspruche aufgegeben werden, aus den bewährten Männern seiner Umgebung vierundzwanzig Priester auszuwählen. Wie aber läßt sich dann die vorliegende Stelle überhaupt verstehen? Augenscheinlich nicht anders, als indem sie für interpolirt angesehen wird. Schon daß eine Rechtsvorschrift die Form von Rede und Gegenrede annimmt, ist befremdlich. Was aber durch die Gegenrede eingeschoben wird, hindert allen denkbaren Zusammenhang. Ohne Zweifel gehört deshalb die letztere nicht dem ursprünglichen Texte an, der lediglich die Forderung zweier Priester enthalten haben wird mit dem gleichzeitigen Hinweis, daß weniger als zwei zu bestellen nicht angemessen erscheine, da, wie im Himmel zwölf Priester rechts und ebenso viele links ihren Platz haben, so auch auf Erden mindestens ein Priester rechts und einer links vom Bischof des Dienstes warten müßte ¹⁾.

Unmittelbar nach den Priestern wird in der nächstfolgenden Vorschrift des Vorlesers gedacht, welcher bestellt werden soll, und hiernach in einer vierten und fünften Vorschrift der einzusetzenden Diakonen und Wittwen. Die letzteren sollen drei an Zahl sein; ohne

1) Wenn im Folgenden (Hilgenfeld, l. c. IV, p. 102, 9 ss.) von einer Mehrzahl von Priestern, welche rechts stehen, die Rede ist und ebenso von mehreren zur Linken, so denkt der Verfasser dabei an die rechts resp. links stehenden Priester aller Orte, wie der gleichzeitige Hinweis auf eine Mehrzahl der Bischöfe zeigt. Übrigens macht auch diese Stelle den Eindruck eines fremdartigen Zusatzes.

Zweifel gilt dies auch von den Diakonen, obschon es nicht ausdrücklich gesagt wird, augenscheinlich, weil der Text an der betreffenden Stelle gelitten hat ¹⁾. Von den Wittwen soll eine den mit Krankheit geprüften Personen ihres Geschlechtes Beistand leisten, Aufgabe der beiden anderen ist es, allen in der Zeit der Prüfung beharrliche Gebetshilfe zu leisten und für die Offenbarungen da zu sein, wenn eine solche über etwas nöthig wird. Letztere Angabe läßt sich wohl nicht anders verstehen, als daß ein Theil der kirchlich bestellten Wittwen von Amtswegen zu einer Art christlicher Orakelpersonen ausersehen war, was in der vormontanistischen Zeit in Gegenden, wo auch Bischöfe ohne alle Schulbildung nicht zu den Seltenheiten gehörten und der Vorleser den Diakonen vorging (s. oben und vgl. Apost. Constit. II, c. 1.), wohl vorgekommen sein mag ²⁾.

1) Bickell, a. a. O. S. 125, neigt zu der Annahme, daß die Zahl 3 hier durch ein Schreibversehen ausgefallen sei, zumal der Buchstabe, welcher die 3 bedeutet, γ, wegen des mit γ beginnenden nächsten Wortes (γέγραπται) leicht weggelassen werden konnte. Doch befremdet ihn der Umstand, daß die Zahl auch in der äthiopischen Übersetzung fehlt, und er versucht dann, auch in den Text, wie er überliefert ist, einen Sinn zu bringen. Die daselbst angeführte Bibelstelle, lautet seine Vermuthung, soll vielleicht die drei Stufen der Hierarchie (Bischof, Presbyter und Diakon) begründen. Aber hiergegen spricht, daß in den vorliegenden Rechtsvorschriften der Diakon nach Bischof, Priester und Vorleser erst die vierte Stelle einnimmt. Es wird also wohl auch hier der Verfasser der Kirchenordnung den Text seiner Vorlage auf seine Art geändert haben.

2) Die betreffende Stelle lautet: Αἱ δύο προσμένουσαι τῇ προσευχῇ (cf. 1 Tim. 5, 5) περὶ πάντων (τῶν) ἐν πείρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀποκαλύψεις περὶ οὗ ἂν δέη. Hilgenfeld, l. c. IV, p. 103, 14—16. Bickell, a. a. O. S. 126, übersetzt: „zu Ent-

Der folgende Spruch handelt nochmals von den Pflichten der Diakonen und besteht größtentheils aus einer Wiederholung von Anforderungen, welche schon vorher an diese Klasse von Klerikern gestellt worden sind. Als neu begegnen uns nur die Bemerkungen, daß die Diakonen Tag und Nacht den guten Werken überall nachgehen, den Bedrängten bei der Vertheilung nicht ausschließen und die Vermögenden zur Beisteuer für milde Zwecke durch den Hinweis auf die Worte „unseres Lehrers“: „Ihr sahet mich hungern und nährtet mich nicht“ (vgl. Matth. 25, 35) antreiben sollen, da diejenigen, welche gut und tadellos ihren Dienst versehen, sich den Platz des Hirten erwerben. Warum deshalb außer der Reihe nochmals der Diakonen gedacht wird, ist nicht ersichtlich und der ganze Spruch wohl ein fremdartiger, nicht schon ursprünglich zu den Rechtsvorschriften gehöriger Bestandtheil.

Nach den Diakonen und Wittwen erhalten zuletzt noch die Laien eine Belehrung: sie sollen ihren weltlichen Aufgaben obliegen, ohne gegen die Beisitzer des Opferaltars sich aufzulehnen, vielmehr neidlos an ihrer Stelle Gott zu gefallen suchen, gleichwie die Engel thun.

hüllungen, wo es immer nöthig sein sollte,“ und bemerkt dazu, die Bedeutung sei zweifelhaft: man könnte an körperliche Enthüllungen denken, wie denn Epiphanius, haer. 79, § 3, ausdrücklich erwähne, daß Diakonissen zu dem Zwecke bestellt seien, Hilfe zu leisten, wenn der Körper einer Frau zu enthüllen sei; indeß könne das Wort auch auf vertraute Mittheilungen hilfsbedürftiger Frauen bezogen werden. Aber die letztere Angelegenheit ist im Texte durch nichts angedeutet und in ersterer Hinsicht wäre zu erinnern, daß Epiphanius l. c. von Entblößungen redet (ὅτε γυμνωθεῖν σῶμα γυναικός), nicht von körperlichen Enthüllungen, zu welchen Diakonissenhilfe nicht nöthig war.

Die Anweisungen für die verschiedenen Kirchenämter und Stände könnten hiermit schließen. Es folgen aber, abgesehen von der allgemeinen Schlußermahnung des Petrus, noch sechs Sprüche, die dem Andreas, Petrus, Johannes, Kephaz, Jakobus und Philippus in den Mund gelegt werden, obschon alle sechs bereits in den vorhergehenden Abschnitten zu Worte gekommen sind, mehrere andere Apostel dagegen noch nicht geredet haben. Hilgenfeld bemerkt deshalb, daß diese Apostelsprüche, insoweit sie die Rede des Philippus bezüglich der Laienpflichten unterbrechen, gefälscht oder hinzugefügt scheinen ¹⁾. Ihr Inhalt ist folgender: Andreas wünscht, daß für die Weiber ein amtlicher Dienst (— nach dem Folgenden scheint der Dienst am Altare gemeint zu sein, worauf jedoch Petrus nicht näher eingeht, —) bestellt werde. Petrus erwidert, daß dies schon geschehen, aber noch über die Darbringung des Leibes und Blutes etwas Genaueres anzugeben sei. Auch Johannes scheint dem Wunsche des Andreas zu widersprechen; wenigstens lautet seine Erklärung: „Ihr ließt unbeachtet, Brüder, als der Lehrer das Brod und den Trank verlangte und es segnete, indem er sprach: „Dieses ist mein Leib und Blut,“ daß er diesen (den Weibern) nicht erlaubte, sich zu uns zu stellen.“ Martha sagt: „Wegen der Maria, weil er sah, daß sie lächelte.“ Maria sagt: „Ich habe nicht mehr gelacht, denn er hatte es uns vorhergesagt, als er lehrte, daß das Schwache durch das Starke gerettet werden wird.“ Hiernach bemerkt Kephaz: „Ihr erinnert euch, daß einige sagten, es sei für Weiber nicht geziemend, aufgerichtet zu beten,

1) L. c. IV, p. 106.

sondern auf der Erde sitzend.“ Jakobus spricht: „Wie können wir also in Betreff der Weiber einen amtlichen Dienst bestimmen, außer etwa den Dienst, daß sie den Bedürftigen beistehen.“ Philippus endlich schließt die Besprechung mit den Worten: „So viel, Brüder, bezüglich der Beihilfe. Wer ein gutes Werk vollbringt, erwirbt sich einen Schatz: wer nämlich einen Schatz sammelt im Reiche, wird bei Gott als eingeschriebener Arbeiter gelten“ ¹⁾.

Diese Mittheilung des Inhalts genügt wohl, um nicht bloß der Meinung Pitra's beizustimmen, welcher die Nachricht über die lächelnde Maria geneigt ist für eine spätere Dichtung anzusehen ²⁾, sondern überhaupt den ganzen vorliegenden Abschnitt als eine fremdartige und spätere Zugabe zu betrachten.

Nun folgt aus der Unterscheidung älterer und jüngerer Bestandtheile, aus welchen sich die zweite Hälfte der Kirchenordnung zusammensetzt, allerdings noch nicht, daß der Verfasser der Kirchenordnung hier ebenso wie in der ersten Hälfte eine ältere Vorlage benützt und durch Zusätze erweitert hat, da möglicher Weise die jüngeren Bestandtheile von einer noch späteren Hand herrühren. Ja letzteres ist wenigstens bei der zuletzt mitgetheilten Besprechung über den Altardienst der Frauen wahrscheinlich, da der Verfasser der Kirchenordnung wie in der ersten so auch in der zweiten Hälfte seiner Arbeit ein mehrmaliges Auftreten desselben Redners innerhalb der Eingangs- und Schlußworte, solange seine Namenliste noch nicht erschöpft war, wohl vermieden hätte. Anders

1) Hilgenfeld, l. c. IV, p. 104, 8—28.

2) L. c. p. 88.

dagegen verhält es sich mit der Bemerkung über die drei Priester, indem diese, wie sich bei der Betrachtung der noch übrigen Bestandtheile der Kirchenordnung alsbald ergeben wird, anscheinend vom Verfasser der letzteren selbst in den älteren Text des Rechtsvorschriften eingeschaltet worden ist.

5.

Die übrigen Bestandtheile der Kirchenordnung. Ergebniß.

Neben den bisher besprochenen Angaben über den Lebensweg und über die kirchlichen Ämter und Stände enthält die Kirchenordnung noch am Anfange und am Schlusse der beiden Hälften ein Eingangswort und eine Schlußermahnung sowie eine vorausgehende beiden Hälften gemeinsame Einleitung mit vorherigem Gruß und Verzeichniß der redend auftretenden apostolischen Männer.

Das Eingangswort der ersten Hälfte lautet: „Johannes sprach: Männer und Brüder, da wir wissen, daß wir Rechenschaft geben werden über das, was uns aufgetragen worden ist, so laßt uns auf den Einzelnen keine persönliche Rücksicht nehmen, sondern es werde ihm, wenn Jemand meint eine nützliche Einrede zu haben, die Einrede gemacht. Es schien aber allen, zuerst solle Johannes reden. Johannes sprach: Es sind zwei Wege u. s. w.“ — Richtig abgefaßt müßte der erste dieser Sätze etwa heißen: „Da wir wissen, daß wir Rechenschaft geben werden u. s. w., so laßt uns frei unsre Meinung sagen und ebenso, wenn einer

glaubt, gegen das Gesagte eine nützliche Einrede zu haben, ohne Rücksicht auf die Person die Einrede machen." Der Verfasser des Eingangswortes giebt sich jedoch nicht erst die Mühe eines geordneten Gedankenausdruckes, sondern eilt mit Unterdrückung des folgerichtigen Hauptgedankens alsbald zu der Erklärung über die freizugebende Einrede. Dieser Umstand erscheint aber um so auffälliger, als die folgenden Apostelsprüche von keiner Seite eine Gegenbemerkung erfahren — bis zu der Stelle in der zweiten Hälfte, wo Johannes selbst das Wort hat und die Zahl der Priester auf zwei festsetzen will. Hier widersprechen ihm die andern mit der bereits als spätere That nachgewiesenen Erklärung: „Nicht zwei, sondern drei“ und Johannes stimmt ihnen zu. Außerdem finden sich Gegenbemerkungen der Apostel unter einander nur noch in dem Abschnitte über die Theilnahme der Frauen am Altardienste, also abermals in einem späteren Zusätze. Es unterliegt deshalb wohl keinem Zweifel, daß der Verfasser des vorliegenden Eingangswortes, da ihm so viel daran lag, eine etwaige Gegenrede im Voraus als zulässig hinzustellen, mindestens die Gegenrede gegen den Spruch des Johannes über die Zahl der Priester selbst angebracht und demnach die von ihm mitgetheilten alten Rechtsvorschriften ebenso wenig selbst verfaßt hat, wie die Darstellung des Lebensweges in der ersten Hälfte der Kirchenordnung.

Die S c h l u ß e r m a h n u n g der ersten Hälfte sodann hat folgenden Wortlaut: „Bartholomäus sprach: Wir bitten euch, Brüder, da es noch Zeit ist und ihr solche um euch habt, hinsichtlich welcher ihr wirket, laßet

nicht nach in irgend einem Stücke, soweit ihr vermöget. Denn nahe ist der Tag des Herrn, an welchem Alles untergehen wird mit dem Bösen. Denn kommen wird der Herr und sein Lohn mit ihm. Euch selbst werdet gute, wohlunterrichtete Berather. Du sollst bewahren, was du empfangen hast, ohne Hinzufügung und ohne Hinwegnahme." — Bemerkenswerth erscheint hier allein die Bekanntschaft des Verfassers der Kirchenordnung mit dem Barnabasbriefe, dessen Schlußkapitel (nur der Satz: „Du sollst bewahren, was du empfangen u. s. w.“ ist dem Kapitel XIX. entnommen) der obigen Schlußermahnung zu Grunde liegt. Wir erblicken hierin ein erstes Anzeichen dafür, daß die Entscheidung des Petrus, da diese dem Verfasser der Kirchenordnung ebenfalls bekannt war, nicht bloß anfangs, sondern auch später noch mit dem Barnabasbriefe zugleich gebraucht wurde, wie dies ja auch zum vollen Verständniß der erstgenannten Schrift nothwendig war.

In der zweiten Hälfte ferner heißt das Eingangswort: „Petrus sprach: Brüder, das Nöthige wegen der übrigen Mahnworte werden die Schriften lehren, wir aber wollen, was uns befohlen worden ist, anordnen. Alle sprachen: Petrus soll reden.“ Und die Schlußermahnung: „Petrus sprach: In diesen Beziehungen, Brüder, bitten wir euch, nicht wie mit Gewalt von Einem ausgerüstet zum Zwange, aber mit einem Auftrage vom Herrn, daß ihr die Gebote bewahret, ohne Hinwegnahme und ohne Hinzufügung, im Namen unseres Herrn, dem die Ehre in die Ewigkeiten. Amen.“ — Beide Texte geben zu keiner weiteren Bemerkung Anlaß, als daß sie die Absicht ihres Verfassers bekunden, die

beiden einander fremdartigen Stücke, welche er zu seiner Arbeit verwendete, den Lebensweg und die kirchlichen Rechtsvorschriften, schon durch die gleichartige Einfassung als zusammengehörig darzustellen.

Die Verbindung der beiden Hälften der Kirchenordnung wird indeß nicht bloß auf die angegebene Weise hergestellt, sondern auch und ganz besonders durch die vorausgehende gemeinsame Einleitung vermittelt, in welcher der Verfasser es mit einer Anordnung des Herrn rechtfertigt, daß im Folgenden nicht bloß kirchliche Rechtsvorschriften, sondern auch sittliche Lebensregeln mitgetheilt und zwar noch den ersteren vorausgeschickt werden. Diese Einleitung, deren ungelenke Ausdrucksweise bei der schon bekannten Geistesart des Verfassers der Kirchenordnung nicht auffallen kann, lautet: „Indem wir nach dem Befehle unseres Herrn Jesu Christi des Retters uns versammelt haben“ (— es reden die zwölf Apostel und Apostelgenossen, deren Namen der Einleitung vorgelegt sind, —), „so hat es, wie er es anordnete vor jenem (Ausspruche): Ihr werdet unter euch vertheilen die Eparchien, berechnen die Zahl der Orte, die Amtswürden der Bischöfe, die Sitze der Priester, die Besitzordnungen der Diakonen, die Verständigkeit der Vorleser in dieser und jener Beziehung, die unbescholtenen Eigenschaften der Wittwen und wie vieles zur Kirchengründung nöthig sein mag, damit sie kundig des Vorbildes der Einrichtungen im Himmel sich hüten vor aller Verfehlung, wissend, daß sie Rechenschaft geben werden am großen Tage des Gerichtes bezüglich der Dinge, die sie gehört und nicht beobachtet haben, — und er befahl uns, die Reden zu verbreiten über den ganzen Erdfreis: so hat es also uns

gut geschehen, zur Erinnerung und Ermahnung der Brüderschaft, wie es der Herr einem Jeden offenbarte nach dem Willen Gottes vermittelt des heiligen Geistes, eingedenk des Wortes euch Gebote zu geben" ¹⁾).

Dieser Prolog, der nicht ungeeignet scheint, über die Entstehungszeit der Kirchenordnung einiges Licht zu verbreiten, gab den Herausgebern zu folgenden Bemerkungen Anlaß. Lagarde ²⁾ wünschte das Wörtchen „also“ (οὕτως) im Nachsatze gestrichen zu sehen. In Anbetracht der nachlässigen Schreibweise, die im vorliegenden Abschnitt herrscht, ist jedoch ein Grund zu dieser Textänderung nicht zu erkennen, es wäre denn, daß Lagarde, ohne es anzugeben, den Vordersatz ganz oder größtentheils für unecht hielt. Bitra ³⁾ erklärt den ganzen Abschnitt schon wegen des voranstehenden Namensverzeichnisses für unecht, um nicht, wie er sagt, die argen Sprachfehler mit zum Beweise anzuführen. Zugleich erinnert derselbe Gelehrte daran, daß das Wort „Eparchie“ streng juristisch aufgefaßt auf das Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts als Entstehungszeit des ganzen Proömiums schließen lasse, da vor dem ersten constantinopolitanischen Konzil sich keine Spur eines kirchlichen Exarchates finde; ja das unmittelbar darauf erwähnte Ortsverzeichnis beziehe sich vielleicht auf noch jüngere Nachrichten von Kirchenprovinzen. Indes ist die Meinung dieses Autors über die Entstehung des Namensverzeichnisses schon oben widerlegt worden. Was aber die nachlässige und fehlerhafte sprachliche Fassung anlangt, so bildet dieselbe nach dem, was über die

1) Hilgenfeld, l. c. IV, p. 96, 1—15.

2) L. c. p. 74.

3) L. c. p. 87.

schriftstellerische Manier des Verfassers der Kirchenordnung sich bereits ergeben hat, keinen Grund, die Einleitung demselben abzusprechen. Von Belang erscheint also nur die Bemerkung, daß kirchliche Exarchate erst nach 381 sich nachweisen lassen. Ehe wir jedoch hierauf näher eingehen, möge noch die Meinung Hilgenfeld's hier angeführt werden. Derselbe sondert die Worte: „vor jenem: Ihr werdet unter euch vertheilen die Eparchien“ u. s. w. bis „gehört und nicht beobachtet haben“ durch Klammer von dem übrigen Texte ab und bezeichnet das Eingeklammerte als eine Einschaltung, welche den Zusammenhang der Gedanken unterbreche und schon durch die darin empfohlene Hierarchie sich als spätere Zuthat erweise ¹⁾. Allein hiergegen ist zu bemerken, daß der Hinweis auf die kirchlichen Ämter zwar von großer Unbeholfenheit des Ausdrucks zeugt, aber in der Reihe der Gedanken nicht wohl fehlen darf. Im Hinblick auf die nachfolgenden beiden Hälften der Kirchenordnung hätte der Verfasser einleitungsweise etwa schreiben mögen: „Indem wir nach dem Befehle unseres Herrn uns versammelt haben, ist von uns gemeinsam beschlossen worden, seinem Ausspruche gemäß zu thun: Ihr werdet bestimmen die nöthigen Eigenschaften der Bischöfe u. s. w. Und da der Herr uns noch zuvor befohlen, die Haltung aller seiner Vorschriften zu lehren über den ganzen Erdfreis hin (Matth. 28, 20; Marc. 16, 15), so hat es uns gut geschiene, auch diesem Auftrage nachzukommen und euch, wie es der Herr einem Jeden offenbarte, zunächst Gebote zu geben.“ Daß der Verfasser diese Gedanken in einem

1) L. c. IV, p. 96 u. 105.

einzigen Satzgefüge unterzubringen versuchte, ging über seine schriftstellerische Fähigkeit, spricht aber nicht für die Unechtheit des einen oder anderen Satzgliedes. Zudem setzt das „also“ im Nachsatze einen weitschichtigen, zerflüfteten Vordersatz voraus und müßte deshalb, wie Lagarde wünscht, ebenfalls gestrichen werden.

Wie aber verhält es sich nun mit der in dieser Einleitung angeführten Hierarchie? Dreierlei erscheint hier beachtenswerth. 1. Der Verfasser der Einleitung erwähnt das Amt des Vorlesers nicht (wie es in den Rechtsvorschriften der Kirchenordnung geschieht) vor, sondern erst nach demjenigen der Diakonen: er verräth sich hierdurch als verschieden von dem Verfasser der Rechtsvorschriften selbst, die für Gemeinden berechnet sind, in welchen die Befähigung zum Vorleseramte nicht gar häufig gewesen sein kann, da selbst die Wahl eines der Schulkenntnisse ermangelnden Bischofes nicht ausgeschlossen war, was leicht eine außergewöhnliche Schätzung und Geltung des Vorleseramtes zur Folge hatte. 2. Der Verfasser der Einleitung redet von einem Ausspruche des Herrn, wonach die Apostel alles zur Kirchengründung Nöthige bestimmen sollten: er deutet damit auf den Inhalt der nachfolgenden Rechtsvorschriften hin, geht aber über denselben in seiner Vorangabe hinaus, da die letzteren von der angekündigten Vertheilung der Bezirke, Zählung der Orte und Unterscheidung der bischöflichen Amtswürden kein Wort enthalten. Erst bei der Berechnung der Priestersitze nach dem Vorbilde der himmlischen Einrichtungen geschieht in den Rechtsvorschriften, was schon die Einleitung in Aussicht gestellt hat. Diese Berechnung der Priestersitze aber hat sich uns oben als That des

Verfassers der Kirchenordnung erwiesen, welchem hiernach auch die Einleitung angehören wird. 3. Der Verfasser der Einleitung spricht, ohne durch die nachfolgenden Texte dazu veranlaßt zu sein, von in Aussicht gestellter Vertheilung der Eparchien, Zählung der Orte und Berechnung der bischöflichen Amtswürden: er steht hierbei unter dem geistigen Banne seiner Zeit, deren Verhältnisse und Vorgänge sein Denken und Reden beherrschen. Auf welche Zeit aber deuten diese Verhältnisse und Vorgänge hin? Nicht erst auf das Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts, wie Pitra bemerkt, sondern bereits auf den Anfang desselben Säculum, da schon das nicänische Konzil vom Jahre 325 in seinem sechsten Canon hinsichtlich der Eparchien und der bischöflichen Rangunterschiede eine Entscheidung zu treffen veranlaßt war ¹⁾.

1) S. Hefele, Conciliengesch. 2. Aufl. 1873, I, 388 ff. Bickell, a. a. O. S. 96, versetzt die Kirchenordnung in den Anfang des dritten Jahrhunderts, da, abgesehen von dem alterthümlichen Inhalt der Rechtsvorschriften die Unterscheidung des Petrus und des Kephas seit Clemens von Alexandrien nicht weiter vorkomme. Lagarde, l. c. p. XIX u. 76, und Hilgenfeld, l. c. IV, p. 95, folgern aus dem mehrerwähnten Citat bei Clemens von Alexandrien, daß die Kirchenordnung bereits vor diesem Schriftsteller entstanden sei. Am kühnsten ist Ed. Böhm, a. a. O. S. 175 ff. Derselbe erblickt in der Kirchenordnung eine Auseinandersetzung zwischen Rom und Kleinasien in Bezug auf den von ersterem beanspruchten Primat im Kirchenregiment und läßt dieselbe demzufolge aller- spätestens in den sechziger Jahren des zweiten Jahrhunderts verfaßt werden. Dem Johannes werde der Vorrang in der Lehre zugestanden, wie dem Petrus in den kirchenrechtlichen Anordnungen. Von römischer Seite müsse deshalb diese Schrift ausgegangen sein „und zwar zu einer Zeit, wo noch nicht der schroffe Geist Victor's das friedliche Hand in Hand Gehen mit Kleinasien abgebrochen hatte, ein Bruch, der sich seit etwa 170 ernstlich vorbereitete. Man dürfte vermuthen, hier eine römische Fassung der Verhandlungen

Werfen wir zuletzt noch einen Blick auf den G r u ß und das Namensverzeichnis, womit die Einleitung beginnt, so ist die Grußformel: „Seid begrüßt, Söhne und Töchter, im Namen des Herrn Jesus Christus!“ dem Anfange des Barnabasbriefes nachgebildet, das Namensverzeichnis aber: „Johannes und Matthäus und Petrus und Andreas und Philippus und Simon und Jakobus und Nathanael und Thomas und Kephäs und Bartholomäus und Judas Sakobi,“ wie schon dargethan wurde, nicht erst aus dem nachfolgenden Texte gezogen, sondern vom Verfasser entweder irgendwo vorgefunden oder nach eigenem Belieben zusammengestellt. Johannes und Mat-

thias und Polykarp bei des Letzteren Besuch in Rom vor sich zu haben; diese Zusammenkunft verlief ungeachtet der verschiedenen Ansichten über den Tag der Passafest in schönster Eintracht. Es wäre aber zunächst noch zu erweisen, daß die Abfassungszeit dieser Kanones nicht noch früher fallen könne. Das Oberhirtenamt hatte auch schon Johannes in seinem Evangelium dem Petrus zugestanden (gleichviel hierfür ob das fragliche Capitel noch von ihm selbst oder in seinem Sinne vom Herausgeber geschrieben war). So konnte die Johanneische Kirche das *χάρισμα κυβερνήσεως* der Römischen anerkennen, von welcher ihr das *χάρισμα διδασκαλλας* nicht streitig gemacht wurde. Daß man späterhin in Rom dies Actenstück in Vergessenheit gerathen ließ, ist erklärlich genug.“ — So viele Säße baut Bö hmer auf die Thatsache, daß in der Kirchenordnung Johannes den Vortrag der Sittenregeln, Petrus den der Rechtsregeln beginnt. Dabei wird zugestanden, daß die Anschauungsweise, welche dieser Thatsache zu Grunde liegt, bis in die Apostelzeit zurückreicht und somit die Kirchenordnung möglicherweise dem höchsten kirchlichen Alterthume angehört. Es hätte deshalb nur noch beigefügt werden sollen, daß diese echt apostolische Anschauungsweise, welche dem Petrus das Oberhirtenamt zuerkennt, ohne deshalb die vollkommenste Hochschätzung der Johanneischen Schriften auszuschließen, zu allen Zeiten in der Kirche fortgedauert hat, um die Schlußfolgerung, die Kirchenordnung könne nicht später als in den sechziger Jahren des zweiten Jahrhunderts entstanden sein, in ihrer ganzen Richtigkeit bloßzulegen.

thäus mögen darin als Apostel und Evangelisten den Vortritt haben, Petrus, Andreas und Philippus nach Matth. 10, 2 und Marc. 3, 18 zunächst sich anschließen, die übrigen zufällig neben einander stehen. Jeder weitere Erklärungsversuch erscheint vergeblich. Es sei deshalb nur noch beigelegt, daß Hilgenfeld ¹⁾ wegen der Voranstellung des Johannes Kleinasien als Vaterland der Kirchenordnung vermuthet. Vielleicht berechtigt indeß der Umstand, daß die noch vorhandenen alten Übersetzungen (zwei koptische, eine äthiopische, eine syrische und eine arabische) ²⁾ auf Ägypten und Syrien als erstes Verbreitungsgebiet des Originals hinweisen, eher zur Annahme eines ägyptischen oder syrischen Ursprunges.

Aus den voranstehenden Untersuchungen ergeben sich nun folgende Sätze:

1. Der gegen Ende des ersten Jahrhunderts ³⁾ entstandene Barnabasbrief hat durch seine im zweiten Theile versuchte Beschreibung der Wege des Lichtes und der Finsterniß sehr bald, wenigstens schon geraume Zeit vor Clemens von Alexandrien (welcher das Büchlein „die zwei Wege“ bereits als „Schrift“ benutzt), zu einer abgesonderten Darstellung desselben Gegenstandes Anlaß gegeben, in welcher die betreffenden Sätze des Barnabasbriefes größtentheils beibehalten, aber besser geordnet, einige ungebührlich gesteigerte oder doch mißverständlich klingende Anforderungen („Du sollst lieben deinen Nächsten mehr als deine Seele“, „Immerdar sollst du hassen den

1) L. c. IV, p. 105.

2) Lagarde, l. c. p. IX ss.; XV ss.; Hilgenfeld, l. c. IV, p. 94.

3) S. Fr. X. Funk, l. c. p. IV ss.

Bösen“, „Du sollst lieben wie deinen Augapfel jeden, welcher zu dir des Herrn Wort redet“) richtig gestellt und mehrere neue Mahnworte nach einem deutlichen Plane hinzugefügt wurden.

2. Diese zweite Darstellung erhielt den Titel „Die zwei Wege oder die Entscheidung des Petrus“ (oder: „nach Petrus“) und wurde frühzeitig, jedenfalls noch im zweiten Jahrhundert, als kirchliches Lese- und Unterrichtsbuch gebraucht, wie sich aus der Nachricht des Rufinus in Verbindung mit dem Citat des Clemens von Alexandrien ergibt. Der zweite Theil des Titels rührt vermuthlich daher, daß dem Namen des Barnabas eine höhere Autorität entgegengesetzt werden sollte, gegen deren Entscheidung hinsichtlich der bedenklichen Stellen des Barnabasbriefes kein Widerspruch zu befürchten war, sei es daß der Verfasser wirklich eine Entscheidung beim Lehrstuhle des Petrus in Rom eingeholt oder schon auf Grund der eigenen Vertrautheit mit der katholischen Lehre seine Richtigstellung des Barnabasbriefes als Entscheidung des Petrus oder nach Petrus bezeichnet hat. Als nächstes Verbreitungsgebiet der neuen Schrift aber ist die Heimat des Barnabasbriefes, also Ägypten¹⁾, anzunehmen, wohin auch die Benutzung durch den Alexandriner Clemens weist.

3. Die sogen. apostolische Kirchenordnung, welche nach dem Vorgange Hilgenfeld's neuerdings mehrfach als „die zwei Wege oder die Entscheidung des Petrus“ angeführt wird, hat auf diesen Titel kein Recht. Denn der zweite Theil derselben, welcher die Rechtsvor-

1) S. Fr. X. Funk, l. c. p. IV.

schriften bezüglich der Bischöfe, Priester, Vorleser, Diakonen, Wittwen und Laien enthält, eignete sich nicht zum Unterrichte für Neubefehrte, wozu das von Rufinus statt der Apostellehre des athanasianischen Schriftenverzeichnisses genannte Büchlein wahrscheinlich diente. Der erste Theil aber enthält nur die Darstellung eines Weges, obschon die Absicht, auch eine Beschreibung des andern Weges nachfolgen zu lassen, aus dem Text selbst unzweifelhaft hervorgeht, und verräth dadurch, daß hier die dem Clemens von Alexandrien bekannte Schrift über die zwei Wege zwar verwendet, aber nicht vollständig mitgetheilt ist. Das ganze zweitheilige Werk endlich beruht auf dem Plane, ältere Sittenregeln und Rechtsvorschriften zu einem einheitlichen Ganzen zu verbinden (mit der Nebenabsicht, eine Erhöhung der Priesterzahl von zwei auf drei auch für kleine Gemeinden vorzuschreiben), und wird deshalb, worauf auch die Worte der Einleitung führen, am besten kurz vor oder in die Entstehungszeit des griechischen Oikateuchs der apostolischen Constitutionen, d. i. in's vierte Jahrhundert ¹⁾, verlegt.

4. Die in der Kirchenordnung angewendete Vertheilung der Darstellung des Lebensweges an eine Anzahl redend eingeführter Personen verstößt an drei Stellen gegen die ursprüngliche planmäßige Anlage, welche aus der Darstellung des Lebensweges selbst noch ersichtlich ist. In dem altkirchlichen Unterrichtsbüchlein bestand die Schilderung des Lebensweges augenscheinlich aus drei Theilen, von welchen der erste die beiden Gebote der Liebe mittheilte, der dritte aber aus sieben durch

1) S. Dren, N. Unters. über die Constit. u. Can. der Apostel. Tüb. 1832, S. 154 ff.

eine regelmäßig wiederkehrende Anrede unterschiedenen Mahnworten sich zusammensetzte. In der vorliegenden Kirchenordnung ist der erste Theil auf die Weise zwei Rednern zugewiesen, daß der eine die beiden Liebesgebote in positiver Fassung, der andere aber das Gebot der Nächstenliebe in negativer Umschreibung vorträgt, obschon der zweite und dritte Theil je nur die beiden Fassungen des Gebotes der Nächstenliebe näher erklären, dagegen vom Gebote der Gottesliebe absehen. Dementsprechend konnte der erste Theil nach der Betrachtungsweise seines Verfassers nur entweder einem einzigen Lehrer in den Mund gelegt oder so getheilt werden, daß der eine über die Gottesliebe, der andere über die Nächstenliebe sprach. Im dritten Theile aber sind dem Nathanael zwei Mahnworte zugefallen, wogegen das siebente Mahnwort an zwei Redner vergabt ist. Die ganze Rollenvertheilung ist deshalb dem altkirchlichen Unterrichtsbüchlein abzusprechen und dem Verfasser der Kirchenordnung zuzuschreiben, der außerdem auch die Eingangs- und Schlußsprüche sowie die gemeinsame Einleitung zu seinen Vorlagen hinzugefügt hat.

5. Auch abgesehen von den eingeschalteten Apostelnamen ist die vorliegende Schilderung des Lebensweges ebenso wenig wie die Reihe der Rechtsvorschriften frei von späteren, fremdartigen Zusätzen. Zu diesen gehört, was über den männlichen und den weiblichen Dämon gesagt wird, sowie wahrscheinlich auch das eine oder andere Wort in den Sprüchen des Johannes und des Thomas.

Kann hiernach nun zwar der Vermuthung Hilgenfeld's, welche den Ausgang dieser Untersuchungen bildete,

nicht beigepflichtet werden, so bleibt es doch immerhin sein anerkennenswerthes Verdienst, durch Aufnahme der Kirchenordnung in sein Sammelwerk dieselbe leicht zugänglich gemacht, namentlich aber durch den Hinweis auf die Nachricht des Rufinus der dort enthaltenen Schilderung des Lebensweges eine erhöhte Beachtung verschafft zu haben.

Barnabas

"Duae Viae"

Canal

6.

Die Darstellung der zwei Wege im siebenten Buche der apost. Constitutionen.

Behufs möglichster Klarstellung unseres Gegenstandes erübrigt noch, das siebente Buch der apost. Constit. in Betracht zu ziehen, dessen erster Theil (K. 1—21), von Drey ¹⁾ nicht unpassend als Sittenspiegel bezeichnet, in seinen ersten achtzehn Kapiteln die Wege des Lebens und des Todes schildert.

Über das Verhältniß dieser Schilderung zur Kirchenordnung sowie zum Barnabasbriefe macht Pitra ¹⁾ folgende Bemerkung. Wenn man die Darstellung der zwei Wege in den beiden eben genannten Quellen nehme und die entsprechenden Zeugnisse der heiligen Schrift hinzufüge, ergebe sich in fast unveränderter Reihenfolge Wort für Wort der Text der apost. Constit. Hiermit ist nun allerdings zu viel behauptet, indem der Sittenspiegel der apost. Constit. keineswegs einer bloßen Com-

1) A. a. O. S. 34.

2) L. c. p. 381.

pilation sein Dasein verdankt. Doch läßt sich nicht verkennen, daß dem bezeichneten Abschnitte in der That sowohl der Barnabasbrief als insbesondere die in der Kirchenordnung mitgetheilte Schilderung des Lebensweges und zwar in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt, ohne die vom Verfasser der Kirchenordnung hinzugefügten Bestandtheile, zu Grunde liegt.

Letzteres ergibt sich einentheils aus dem Fehlen der ebengenannten Bestandtheile im Sittenspiegel ¹⁾, anderntheils aber aus der offenen oder andeutungsweisen Wiederkehr der Sprüche, welche der Entscheidung des Petrus im Unterschiede vom Barnabasbriefe eigenthümlich sind, sowie aus der ganzen Anlage, die sich nur unter Zugrundelegung des Gedankenganges der Entscheidung verstehen läßt. So beginnt der Sittenspiegel ²⁾ die Schilderung des Lebensweges nicht bloß wie der Barnabasbrief mit dem Gebote der Gottesliebe, sondern fügt wie die Entscheidung unmittelbar den positiven Wortlaut und die negative Umschreibung des Gebotes der Nächstenliebe hinzu (c. 1, p. 189, 1—5), bespricht dann (c. 2 ss., p. 199, 6—p. 201, 4) gleich der Entscheidung die Verbote der zweiten Gesetzestafel mit Anführung des bezeichnenden Satzes: „Du sollst nicht hassen irgend einen

1) Nur an einer Stelle, c. 11, ergreift ein Apostel für sich allein das Wort, ähnlich wie in der Kirchenordnung, während sonst (vgl. c. 1 u. 2) eine Rollenvertheilung nicht stattfindet. Die Ausnahme ist vermuthlich dadurch veranlaßt, daß es unpassend schien, diesen Einen, den Petrus, von den Mitaposteln daran erinnern zu lassen, wie er einst (Matth. 14, 31) vom Herrn als fleingläubig bezeichnet worden sei.

2) Wir citiren im Folgenden nach der Ausgabe der Constitutiones Apostolorum von P. A. de Lagarde, Lips. 1862.

Menschen" (c. 5, p. 201, 2) und beginnt hierauf mit den aus dem dritten Theile der Entscheidung stammenden Anfangsworten: „Fliehe vor allem Bösen und vor allem, was ihm ähnlich ist" (c. 5, p. 201, 5) die Warnungen bezüglich der Verbote der zweiten Tafel nach Art des dritten Theils der Entscheidung, woran sich (c. 9 ss., p. 202, 22—p. 203, 24) ebenso wie in letzterer Schrift noch die Ermahnungen bezüglich des Religionslehrers und des christlichen Gemeindelebens anreihen. Demgegenüber finden sich auffälligere Abweichungen vom Gedankengange der Entscheidung — abgesehen von den zahlreichen Zwischenbemerkungen — nur spärlich. Der Hinweis auf die Gefahr des Götzendienstes geht im Sittenspiegel (c. 6, p. 201, 15 ss.) den auf Hurerei und Ehebruch bezüglichen Mahnworten (c. 6, p. 201, 21—24) voran, statt wie in der Entscheidung ihnen nachzufolgen: die Umstellung erscheint, da der Götzendienst ohne Zweifel auch hier mit Hurerei und Ehebruch geistig verwandt gedacht wird, ohne Belang. Bei der Wiedergabe des zweiten Theils der Entscheidung (c. 2 ss., p. 199, 6 ss.) kommen die Sprüche: „Du sollst nicht tödten, nicht ehebrechen, nicht Knaben schänden, nicht huren, nicht stehlen“, also der Reihe nach das fünfte, sechste und siebente der Zehngebote zur Sprache, obschon die Entscheidung (wenigstens nach dem Text der Kirchenordnung) an dieser Stelle das Diebstahlverbot übergieng und neben Ehebruch und Hurerei nicht die Knabenschändung, sondern das Giftmischen und die beiden Arten des Kindesmordes nannte. Warum letzterer Sünden beim sechsten Gebot Erwähnung geschah, läßt sich nur unsicher vermuthen: für den Verfasser des Sittenspiegels genügte dies wohl,

um hier von seiner Vorlage abzuweichen und eine augenscheinliche Verbesserung anzubringen ¹⁾. Am auffälligsten ist, daß sich bald anfangs (c. 1, p. 198, 5—p. 199, 6) zwischen die Mittheilung der Liebesgebote und die Auslegung des fünften, sechsten und siebenten Gebotes eine längere Reihe von Bemerkungen einschleibt, die nach dem Vorgange der Entscheidung erst später (s. c. 5, p. 201, 2—4) zu erwarten wäre. Diese Bemerkungen lauten: „Segnet, die euch fluchen, betet für die, welche euch verleumden, liebet eure Feinde u. s. w. Giebt Jemand dir einen Backenstreich, wende ihm auch die andere (Wange) zu, nicht als ob die Abwehr verwerflich wäre, sondern weil die Ertragung des Bösen schätzenswerther ist; denn es spricht David: Ich vergalt denjenigen nicht, die mir Übles anthun. Preßt dich Jemand zu einem Meilenmarsche, geh' mit ihm zwei u. s. w.“. — Was wollen diese Sätze besagen? Sie zeigen ohne Zweifel, auf welche Weise der Ausspruch des Barnabasbriefes über das Maß der Nächstenliebe verstanden und vertheidigt werden konnte. Denn dem Nächsten mit eigenem Schaden willfährig sein, wie es die angeführten Schriftworte (Matth. 5, 39 ff.) in gewissem Sinne, wenn der Gewinn an ewigen Gütern nicht mitberechnet wird (vgl. 1 Petr. 4, 13 ff.), ja doch

1) Unmittelbar nach der Besprechung des Diebstahlverbotes und noch vor der Auslegung des achten Gebotes folgt dann ein Abschnitt mit den ausgelassenen Sündennamen sowie mit den Verböten, zu zaubern und gierig zu sein (c. 3, p. 200, 5—11). Diese Einschaltung widerstreitet augenfällig der im übrigen planmäßigen Erörterung und stammt deshalb wohl nicht vom Verfasser des Sittenspiegels selbst, sondern vermuthlich von derselben Hand, welche, wie wir noch sehen werden, auch andere Zusätze zum Sittenspiegel gemacht hat.

lehren, heißt so viel wie den Nächsten mehr lieben als sich selbst. Anscheinend hat deshalb der Sittenspiegel an der vorliegenden Stelle den verhänglichen Satz des Barnabasbriefes im Auge und sucht, indem er zugleich jeder überspannten Auffassung durch die Bemerkung vorbeugt, daß die Abwehr nicht schlimm und die Ertragung des Bösen nur schätzenwerther sei, mit Hilfe der heiligen Schrift darzuthun, daß der betreffende Ausspruch keineswegs völlig zu verwerfen ist, wie dies ja auch die Entscheidung des Petrus zu erkennen giebt und alle diejenigen, welche den Barnabasbrief in den ersten christlichen Jahrhunderten hoch in Ehren hielten, angenommen haben werden. Nur fällt dabei auf, daß diese Erörterung nicht, wie es dem Gedankengange der Entscheidung gemäß wäre, erst am Schluß, sondern schon zu Anfang des zweiten Theils ihren Platz erhalten hat: die Wichtigkeit des Gegenstandes mag den Verfasser zu dieser Umstellung und Abweichung von seiner Vorlage veranlaßt haben¹⁾.

Anderseits aber liegt dem Sittenspiegel nicht blos die Entscheidung des Petrus, sondern, wie schon Pitra und Andere bemerkten, auch eine unmittelbare Benutzung des Barnabasbriefes, wenn gleich erst an zweiter Stelle,

1) Hervorgehoben sei noch, daß in den so eben besprochenen Textworten (c. 1, p. 189, 10) der Satz der Entscheidung: „Du sollst nicht hassen irgend einen Menschen“ vom Verfasser des Sittenspiegels als ein *Schriftwort* angeführt wird, wie dies mit einem anderen Ausspruche desselben Unterrichtsbuches Clemens von Alexandrien thut. Denn obschon der Verfasser den fraglichen Satz sowohl mit Deut. 23, 8 (l. c.) als auch mit Lev. 19, 17 cf. v. 13 (s. c. 5, p. 201, 2—4) verband, so bleibt doch bestehen, daß sich das betreffende Citat in der heiligen Schrift selbst nicht findet, also wohl nur aus der Entscheidung bekannt und wie ein Schriftwort in Gebrauch gekommen war.

zu Grunde. Dies ergibt sich vor Allem aus dem Abschnitt des Sittenspiegels, in welchem das fünfte, sechste und siebente der Zehngebote abweichend von der Entscheidung zur Sprache kommen (c. 2, p. 199, 6 ss.), indem die drei Sprüche für das sechste Gebot: „Du sollst nicht ehebrechen, nicht Knaben schänden, nicht huren“ dem Barnabasbriefe (c. 19) entnommen sind. Auf eine unmittelbare Benutzung desselben Briefes deutet ferner auch die Art und Weise, wie der Sittenspiegel — anscheinend mit absichtlicher Abweichung von der Wortfassung der Entscheidung (s. w. u.) und Annäherung an den Barnabasbrief — sich über den Verkehr mit den übrigen Gläubigen äußert (c. 9, q. 202, 22—q. 203, 4). Namentlich aber dürfte unmittelbar auf den Barnabasbrief zurückzuführen sein, was der Sittenspiegel nach der Vorschrift, nichts eigen zu nennen, mit welcher die Schilderung des Lebensweges in der Kirchenordnung schließt, noch von weiteren Ermahnungen folgen läßt. „Du sollst deine Hand nicht zurückziehen von deinem Sohne oder von deiner Tochter“, heißt es an dieser Stelle (c. 12—17, p. 203, 24—p. 204, 24), „sondern von ihrer Jugend auf sollst du sie lehren die Furcht Gottes . . . Du sollst deinem Knechte oder der Magd, die auf denselben Gott vertrauen, nicht mit Bitterkeit der Seele gebieten . . . Und ihr, o Knechte, unterwerfet euch euren Gebiethern als einem Hinweis auf Gott mit Eingezogenheit und Furcht . . . Du sollst hassen alle Heuchelei . . . Nicht mögest du verlassen die Gebote des Herrn, sollst vielmehr bewahren, was du von ihm empfangen hast, ohne Hinzufügung zu ihnen und ohne Hinwegnahme von ihnen . . . Du sollst dem

1.
Handg. u. d. altk.
Kirchenordnung
vergl.

2.

3.

in d. d.

7
in d. d.

Herrn deinem Gotte deine Sünden bekennen ¹⁾ . . . Nicht mögest du kommen zu deinem Gebete am Tage deiner Bosheit“ . . . Diese Ermahnungen fehlen sämtlich in der Kirchenordnung, finden sich aber im Lichtwege des Barnabasbriefes. Nun erscheint es allerdings nicht unmöglich, daß der Verfasser der Kirchenordnung, wie er die Darstellung des Todesweges übergangen, so auch bei Mittheilung des Lebensweges am Schluß eine Anzahl Sätze ausgelassen habe, welche in der Entscheidung gestanden und hier vom Verfasser des Sitten spiegels aus derselben mitgetheilt werden. Erwägt man jedoch den Gedankengang, welchen die fraglichen Sätze (als Bestandtheile der Entscheidung gedacht) ergeben — es ist, wie wenn gesagt würde: „Nimm dich bei aller Hingebung ans Gemeindegelben doch auch der Deinen an und be-
 fleiße dich selbst ungeheuchelter Frömmigkeit“! — so verstößt diese letztere Wendung als Bezugnahme auf das Gebot der Gottesliebe gegen die sonst ersichtliche Planmäßigkeit der einzelnen Glieder, aus welchen sich in der Entscheidung die Darstellung des Lebensweges harmonisch zusammenfügt, indem der dritte Theil nach seiner ganzen Anlage ebenso wie der zweite lediglich die negative Umschreibung des Gebotes der Nächstenliebe nebst dem positiven Wortlaute desselben Gebotes zum

1) Zwischen der Ermahnung zum Sündenbekenntniß und der Warnung bezüglich des Gebetes steht (c. 15 und 16, p. 204, 15—23) eine — dem Barnabasbriefe fremde — Belehrung über das pflichtmäßige Verhalten gegen Vater und Mutter und Brüder und Verwandte sowie gegen den König und seine Beamten: ein Abschnitt, welcher schon etwas früher hätte beigelegt werden sollen, hier dagegen den Zusammenhang unterbricht und deshalb nicht schon dem Verfasser des Sitten spiegels angehören dürfte.

Gegenstände hat. Auch hier liegt also wohl eine unmittelbare Benutzung des Barnabasbriefes vor, durch welche der Verfasser des Sittenspiegels es erreichte, daß seiner Arbeit, die zunächst den Text der Entscheidung größtentheils unverändert in sich aufgenommen hat, auch aus dem Lichtwege des Barnabasbriefes nur noch wenige minder erhebliche Sätze überhaupt fehlen ¹⁾.

Außer der Darstellung des Lebensweges, auf welche die vorstehenden Bemerkungen sich beziehen, enthält der Sittenspiegel aber auch — und er gewinnt dadurch für uns eine erhöhte Bedeutung — eine Schilderung des Todesweges, die in der Kirchenordnung fehlt, in der Entscheidung aber nach dem Vorbilde des Barnabasbriefes nachweislich gestanden hat. Dieselbe lautet (c. 18, p. 204, 26 — p. 205, 15): „Der Weg des Todes aber ist an schlimmen Handlungen erkennbar: denn auf demselben findet sich Unkenntniß Gottes und Einführung vieler Götter, — durch welche Mordthaten (entstehen), Ehebrechereien, Hurereien, Meineide, gesetzwidrige Begierden, Diebereien, Götzendienereien, Zaubereien, Giftmischereien, Räubereien, falsche Zeugnisse, Heucheleien, Doppelherzigkeiten, Betrug, Überhebung, Bosheit, Anmaßung, Habsucht, schändliche Rede, Eifersucht, Frechheit, Hochmuth, Hoffart, Scheulosigkeit, Verfolgung der Guten, gegen die Wahrheit Haß, zur Lüge Liebe, Unkenntniß der Gerechtig-

1) Der Satz des Barnabasbriefes: „Nicht möge das Wort Gottes von dir ausgehen in der Unreinheit gewisser Leute“ wurde im Sittenspiegel wie in der Entscheidung wohl wegen seiner Dunkelheit übergangen; einige andere Aussprüche wie: „Du sollst einfach sein im Herzen und reich im Geiste, sollst nicht anhängen denjenigen, die auf dem Todeswege wandeln“ u. dgl. mochten von geringem Belang scheinen.

keit: — denn die Vollbringer dieser Dinge hängen nicht dem Guten an noch auch dem gerechten Gerichte, sind wachsam nicht zum Guten, sondern zum Schlimmen, von denen weitab ist Sanftmuth und Geduld, das Falsche liebend, jagend nach Belohnung, nicht bemitleidend den Armen, sich nicht anstrengend wegen eines schwer Belasteten, nicht erkennend den, der sie gemacht, Mörder von Kindern, Zerstörer des Gebildes Gottes, sich abwendend vom Bedürftigen, Beistände der Reichen, Verächter der Armen, in Allem sündhaft. Möchtet ihr bewahrt sein, Kinder, vor allen diesen Dingen!" — Vergleicht man mit dieser Darstellung das schon mitgetheilte entsprechende Sündenverzeichnis des Barnabasbriefes (c. 20), so ergiebt sich, daß der Sittenpiegel im dritten oben durch Gedankenstrich angedeuteten Abschnitte fast wörtlich mit dem Barnabasbriefe übereinstimmt, im zweiten sich mit demselben nur mehrfach berührt, im ersten aber sowie in der Schlußformel jeder Anlehnung an denselben entbehrt. Fragt man deshalb, woher diese Abweichung stamme, so deutet nichts darauf hin, daß der Verfasser des Sitten-spiegels, welcher sich hier gegen seine sonstige Gewohnheit aller Schriftcitire und erklärenden Zwischenbemerkungen enthält, nach einem eigenen Plane den Text des Barnabasbriefes umgestaltet habe, wohl aber liegt die Vermuthung sehr nahe, daß die Entscheidung wie sonst so auch hier des Verfassers unmittelbare Quelle sei. Zudem entsprechen die drei Abschnitte des Todesweges einigermaßen den drei Theilen, aus welchen sich in der Entscheidung die Schilderung des Lebensweges zusammensetzt. Der Gottes- und Nächstenliebe auf der einen Seite steht auf der andern die Unkenntniß Gottes und die

Einführung fremder Götter gegenüber, die Sünden wider das fünfte und sechste der Zehngebote beginnen wie im Lebenswege, so auch in der vorliegenden Darstellung den zweiten Theil oder Abschnitt, zur Warnung vor allem Bösen und vor allem, was ihm ähnlich ist, im Anfange der sieben, mit der Anrede „Kind“ beginnenden Mahnworte sollte vielleicht im dritten Abschnitte des Todesweges die Schlußformel: „Möchtet ihr, Kinder, bewahrt sein vor allen diesen Dingen“! das Gegenstück bilden. Freilich ergibt sich dabei — wenigstens im zweiten und dritten Abschnitte — keine derartige durchsichtige Ordnung und Planmäßigkeit des Sündenverzeichnisses, wie sie vom Verfasser der Entscheidung nach den bisherigen Feststellungen vermuthet werden mag. Nur steht bei Wortreihen nach Art der vorliegenden nichts entgegen, spätere Umstellungen und Einschiebungen anzunehmen, durch welche die ursprüngliche Anlage und Ordnung im Einzelnen unkenntlich geworden, ganz abgesehen von der Möglichkeit, daß schon der Verfasser des Sittenspiegels auch diesen Theil seiner Vorlage durch Einschaltungen aus dem Barnabasbriefe geändert hat. Im Ganzen aber erscheint es unbedenklich, in dem mitgetheilten Texte des Sittenspiegels die Beschreibung des Todesweges zu erblicken, welche ursprünglich in der Entscheidung stand und anderweitig uns nicht erhalten geblieben ist.

Wir müssen es uns nun versagen, hier auf die zahlreichen Zwischenbemerkungen näher einzugehen, durch welche der Verfasser, der gegen Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts in Syrien gelebt haben mag¹⁾, seine Schrift-

1) Nach der Schlußformel der Darstellung des Todesweges haben die apost. Constit. (VII, c, 19—21, p. 205, 15— p. 206, 5)

belesenheit und Unterrichtserfahrung, wie er sie anscheinend beim Gebrauche der Entscheidung gesammelt, auf mehrfach ansprechende Weise bekundet. Nur Eins sei noch beigelegt. Diese Zwischenbemerkungen lassen sich als solche bei einer Vergleichung mit dem Text der Kirchenordnung fast durchweg ohne Weiteres erkennen; und da zugleich die Abweichungen vom Wortlaut der Kirchenordnung größtentheils ersichtlicher Maßen nur auf dem Streben nach einer deutlicheren und gefälligeren Darstellung beruhen, erscheint der Versuch nicht allzugewagt, den verloren gegangenen Text der Entscheidung selbst aus den beiden noch vor-

noch eine Warnung, sich nicht von der rechten Frömmigkeit abbringen zu lassen, sowie eine Belehrung über die Erlaubtheit des Fleischgenusses mit Ausnahme des Götzenopferfleisches, ehe der zweite Haupttheil des Buches (c. 22 ss.) beginnt. Es ergiebt sich aus dieser sowie aus den beiden schon erwähnten planwidrigen Beisetzungen mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß der Verfasser des siebenten Buches der apost. Constit. den vorliegenden Sittenspiegel bereits vorgefunden und in sein Sammelwerk nur aufgenommen hat. Die Entstehungszeit des Sittenspiegels aber rückt auf diese Weise, wenn die Abfassung des siebenten Buches wegen des darin enthaltenen Glaubensbekenntnisses (c. 41) mit Drey, a. a. D. S. 103, in den Anfang des vierten Jahrhunderts versetzt wird, noch weiter in's kirchliche Alterthum zurück, obschon der Abstand, welcher zwischen der Entscheidung des Petrus und dem Sittenspiegel aus der lehrhaften Entfaltung des behandelten Unterrichtsstoffes ersichtlich ist, eine erhebliche Zurückverlegung widerräth. Als Vaterland des Sittenspiegels wird Syrien anzunehmen sein, da derselbe ungeachtet seiner Benutzung der wohlgeordneten Entscheidung weniger durch streng und knapp ordnenden Geist, als durch reiche Schriftbelesenheit und breite Darstellung sich kennzeichnet, wie sie den syrischen Kirchenschriftstellern eigen war und auch in den übrigen Bestandtheilen der apost. Constit. hervortritt, für deren Heimat Syrien gilt. Vgl. Drey, a. a. D. S. 90 und 159.

h a n d e n e n B e a r b e i t u n g e n d e s s e l b e n w i e =
d e r h e r z u s t e l l e n .

Die unbeholfenere und schmucklosere Bearbeitung —
d. i. die Darstellung des Lebensweges in der Kirchen-
ordnung — bildet hierfür notwendig die Grundlage. Ab-
zusehen ist dabei nach den bisherigen Feststellungen von
der Einleitung der Kirchenordnung, von den Eingangs-
und Schlußprüchen und von den eingeschalteten Apostel-
namen, indem diese Bestandtheile erst der Kirchenordnung
und nicht schon der Entscheidung angehören. Der übrig
bleibende Text hat wenigstens an einer Stelle eine größere
Interpolation erfahren, es ist dies der Abschnitt über
den männlichen und den weiblichen Dämon. Außerdem
sind nur noch einige minder bedeutende Einschiebungen
wahrscheinlich.

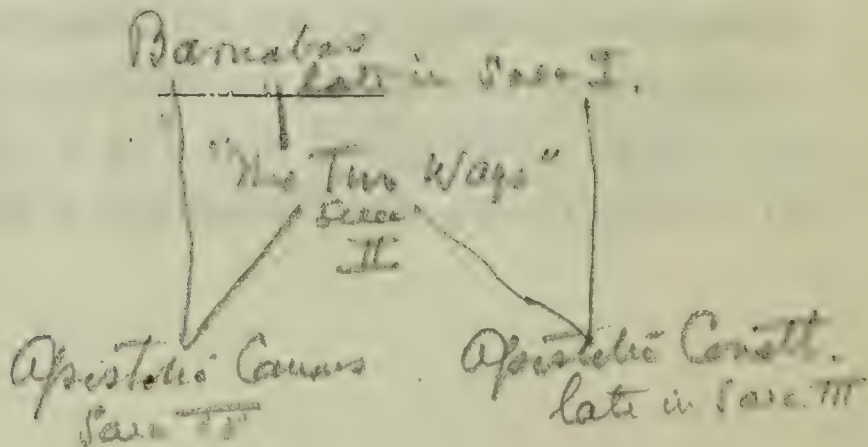
An zweiter Stelle ist sodann regelmäßig die mit
größerer schriftstellerischer Begabung und Freiheit aus-
geführte Bearbeitung im Sittenspiegel zu Räte zu ziehen,
wobei Abweichungen, welche sich leicht aus der Eigen-
thümlichkeit des Bearbeiters erklären lassen, nicht in's Ge-
wicht fallen dürfen, falls sie nicht gradezu den Text der
Kirchenordnung auch auf ihre Weise bestätigen, die wört-
lich übereinstimmenden Sätze aber um so gesicherter er-
scheinen, als offenbar beide Bearbeitungen unabhängig
von einander entstanden sind. Denn daß der Verfasser
des Sittenspiegels nicht die Kirchenordnung, sondern un-
mittelbar die Entscheidung für seine Arbeit benutzt hat,
wurde mit Berufung auf die der Kirchenordnung eigen-
thümlichen Zugaben, welche im Sittenspiegel fehlen, be-
reits gesagt. Ebenso muß aber auch die Unabhängigkeit
der Kirchenordnung vom Sittenspiegel angenommen wer-

den, da in letzterem unzweifelhaft echte Stücke, welche die Kirchenordnung bietet, wie der durch Clemens von Alexandrien bezeugte Ausspruch, fehlen und überhaupt das Kunststück, aus dem Text des Sittenspiegels mit seiner zum Teil verschobenen Gliederung die wohlgegliederte Darstellung des Lebensweges, wie sie in der Kirchenordnung sich findet, herzustellen, dem Verfasser der letzteren Schrift nicht leicht zugetraut werden kann.

Als Hilfsquellen dritter Ordnung sind endlich der Barnabasbrief, dessen Text vom Verfasser der Entscheidung vielfach wörtlich beibehalten wurde, sowie die mehrerwähnten kurzen Angaben des Rufinus und des Clemens von Alexandrien zu nennen und geeigneten Orts zu verwenden ¹⁾.

Wir erhalten auf diese Weise den hier folgenden Wortlaut.

1) Ein wichtiges Hilfsmittel zur Wiederherstellung des Textes der Entscheidung würde der von Pitra verglichene Codex Ottonianus gr. 408 der Vaticanischen Bibliothek (l. c. p. 75) mit seinem Auszuge aus der Kirchenordnung bieten, wenn angenommen werden könnte, daß der Epitomator die Entscheidung selbst gekannt und nicht vielmehr neben der Kirchenordnung nur noch den Sittenspiegel und den Barnabasbrief oder auch nur eine interpolierte Abschrift der Kirchenordnung bei seiner Arbeit verwendet hat. Doch spricht gegen diese Annahme schon die Rollenvertheilung, welche der Epitomator ungeachtet seines Strebens nach Kürze beibehält, wie er denn auch nur den Lebensweg darstellt. S. die Abweichungen und Eigenheiten des Codex Ottob., an den betreffenden Stellen unter dem Text notiert, bei Hilgenfeld, l. c. IV, p. 95 ss.



7.

Die zwei Wege oder die Entscheidung des Petrus.

Der Titel ist überliefert durch Rufinus, Comment. in symb. apost. c. 38. Der Codex Sangerm. und die alten Drucke geben: „die Entscheidung nach Petrus.“ Die Angabe des Hieronymus De viris illustr. c. 1. läßt beide Lesarten zu.

Es sind zwei Wege, der eine des Lebens und der andre des Todes. Aber der Unterschied ist groß zwischen den zwei Wegen. Denn der Weg des Lebens einerseits ist dieser.

So die Kirchenordnung. Fast wörtlich übereinstimmend, aber mit erweiternden Zusätzen, auch der Sittenpiegel.

Du sollst lieben den Gott, der dich gemacht hat, aus deinem ganzen Herzen und verherrlichen den, der dich erlöst hat vom Tode;

Dieser Wortlaut der Ro. stimmt mehr mit dem Barnabasbriefe als mit dem Esp. überein, welcher letzterer sich der biblischen Wortfassung (Deut. 6, 5) nähert; der Anschluß der Entscheidung an den Barnabasbrief hat die größere Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich. — Außerdem setzt die Ro. dem Gebote der Gottesliebe ein „Erstens“ vor, sowie dem der Nächstenliebe ein „Zweitens“, und läßt dort noch den Satz: „was ein erstes Gebot ist“ sowie hier — unmittelbar nach der positiven Fassung des Gebotes — die Worte: „was ein zweites Gebot ist, an welchen Stücken das ganze Gesetz hängt und die Propheten“ folgen. Diese letzteren Zugaben, welche sich aus Marc. 12

30 u. 31 und Matth. 22, 37—40 erklären, sind für unecht anzusehen, da sie den Plan der Entscheidung, neben das Gebot der Gottesliebe alsbald das der Nächstenliebe und zwar in der positiven Wortfassung sowohl als auch in der negativen Umschreibung hinzustellen, verdunkeln. — Der Esp. sagt, der Weg des Lebens sei dieser, den auch das Gesetz (Deut. 6, 5) vorschreibe: „zu lieben Gott den Herrn aus ganzem Herzen und aus ganzer Seele als den einen und einzigen, neben welchem ein anderer nicht ist, und den Nächsten wie sich selbst; und alles, was du nicht willst, daß es dir geschehe, dieses sollst du nicht dem Andern thun.“ Hiernach scheint die Verbindung der drei Sätze ursprünglich auch nicht durch „Erstens“ und „Zweitens“, sondern durch das einfache „und“ geschehen zu sein.

und du sollst lieben deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst und alles, was du nicht willst, daß es dir geschehe, sollst du auch nicht dem Andern thun. —

Der Esp. fügt hier noch nach Tob. 4, 15 den Satz bei: „Das ist, was du hassst, sollst du nicht dem Andern thun,“ — vielleicht, um die in der heiligen Schrift nicht vorkommende negative Umschreibung „Alles, was du nicht willst, u. s. w.“ biblisch zu rechtfertigen, oder auch vielleicht, um sie noch mehr zu verdeutlichen. Aber im ersten Falle wäre statt „Das ist“ vielmehr „Denn es heißt“ zu schreiben gewesen; im anderen Falle entsteht die Sonderbarkeit, daß das zur Verdeutlichung Beigefügte undeutlicher ist als das zu Erklärende. Der Satz hat also wohl auch im Esp. nicht schon anfangs gestanden. Im Uebrigen s. die vorige Zwischenbemerkung.

Du sollst nicht töten, nicht ehebrechen, nicht huren, nicht Gift mischen, nicht töten ein Kind durch Abtreibung, nicht nach der Geburt es umbringen; Statt dieses Textes bringt der Sjp., wie schon früher erwähnt worden, Mord, Ehebruch, Knabenschändung, Hurerei und Diebstahl nach einander zur Sprache, wonach in einer Einschaltung noch Zauberei, Giftmischung und beide Arten des Kindesmordes sowie die Begierden nach fremden Gütern erwähnt werden. Der Wortlaut der Ro., welcher die allerdings schon im Barnabasbriefe genannte Knabenschändung übergeht und dafür in Verbindung mit Ehebruch und Hurerei an Giftmischung und Kindesmord erinnert, ohne das Diebstahlsverbot nachfolgen zu lassen, dürfte jedoch die ursprüngliche Textgestalt sein, indem gerade die Mangelhaftigkeit derselben den Verfasser des Sittenspiegels zu seiner andern Darstellung, die als Verbesserung mitsammt der nachfolgenden Einschaltung auch in die äthiopische Uebersetzung hinübergenommen sowie vom Epitomator im Codex Ottob. benutzt wurde, veranlaßt haben kann.

du sollst nicht falsches Zeugnis geben, nicht Schmähreden führen und nicht Schlimmes nachtragen, sollst nicht doppel sinnig sein und auch nicht doppelzüngig, denn eine Schlinge des Todes ist die Doppelzüngigkeit; deine Rede soll nicht eitel und nicht lügenhaft sein;

Im Sjp. findet sich an dieser Stelle fast wörtlich derselbe Text, dem nur biblische Begründungen beigelegt

sind und der Satz: „Du sollst nicht falsch schwören“ vorausgeht. Letztere Erweiterung hat auch der Codex Ottob.

du sollst nicht habſüchtig ſein und nicht räuberiſch und nicht heuchleriſch und nicht böſartig und nicht hochmütig und nicht annehmen einen ſchlimmen Rat gegen deinen Nächſten.

Auch hier ſtimmt der Sp., abgeſehen von ſeinen bibliſchen Zuſätzen, Glied für Glied mit der Ro. überein, biß auf die letzte Vorſchrift, welche der Sp. auf die Gefahr beſchränkt, bei Gericht zum Verderben eines Niederen aus Rückſicht auf einen Hohen mitzuwirken. Der obige Text, welchen auch ſchon der Barnabaſsbrief hat, iſt ohne Zweifel vorzuziehen.

Du ſollſt nicht haſſen irgend einen Menſchen, ſondern die einen zurechtweiſen, der andern dich erbarmen, für andere beten, wieder andere lieben mehr als deine Seele. —

Der Sp. ſagt: „Du ſollſt nicht haſſen irgend einen Menſchen“ und fügt ſtatt des Folgenden nur noch die beiden Schriftſtellen bei: „Zurechtweiſen magſt du deinen Bruder und nicht ſinetwegen eine Sünde auf dich nehmen“ (Lev. 19, 17) und „Weiſe zurecht einen Weiſen und er wird dich lieben“ (Prov. 9, 8). Die Auslaſſung der übrigen Textglieder iſt jedoch augenſcheinlich eine abſichtliche, da dieſelben, wie ſchon gezeigt worden, vom Verfaſſer des Sp. bald anfangs eingehend behandelt worden ſind.

Mein Kind, fliehe vor allem Böſen

und vor allem, was ihm ähnlich ist!
Werde nicht zornig: denn der Zorn führt
zum Morde; werde nicht neidisch und
nicht zänktisch und nicht leidenschaftlich:
denn daraus entsteht Mord.

Die Ro. hat hier die erste, kurze Einschaltung bezüglich des Zornteufels. Der Esp. läßt bereits an dieser Stelle wie auch später regelmäßig (nur die Schlußformel des Todesweges ausgenommen) die Anrede hinweg, die jedoch durch Clemens von Alexandrien gesichert ist. Im Übrigen bestätigt der Esp. den vorliegenden Text theils wörtlich, theils andeutungsweise. Die äthiopische Übersetzung der Ro. fügt noch bei: *neque etiam sis invidus aut morosus neque amator belli, quoniam hoc malum affert exitum.*

Kind, werde nicht gierig: denn die Gier
führt zur Hurerei und schleppt die Menschen
zu ihr.

Schon Bickell, a. a. O. S. 113, bemerkt, daß in der Wiener Handschrift das Wort *ἐαυτήν*, welches die Drucke geben, zu Anfang unleserlich geschrieben ist. (Im Codex Ottob. fehlt der betreffende Satz ganz.) Es darf also wohl *αὐτήν* für *ἐαυτήν* gelesen werden, da die Gier im Menschen doch nicht den Menschen zu sich ziehen kann. Die folgenden Sätze der Ro. bilden die größere Einschaltung über den weiblichen und den männlichen Dämon. Der Esp. beschränkt sich hier gleich dem vorstehenden Texte auf wenige Worte: „Werde nicht gierig nach bösen Dingen: denn du wirst in ein Unmaß von Sünden geführt werden.“

Kind, werde nicht ein Mensch, der schänd-

liche Reden führt, noch auch ein solcher, der die Augen hoch trägt: denn daraus entstehen Ehebrechereien.

Der Esp. sagt: „Werde nicht ein Mensch, der schändliche Reden führt, noch auch ein solcher, der die Augen schießen läßt, und nicht trunksüchtig: denn daraus entstehen Hurereien und Ehebrechereien.“

Kind, werde nicht ein Vogelflugschauer, indem es zum Götzendienste führt, auch nicht ein Zauberfänger und nicht ein Erforscher der Zahl- und Raumgeheimnisse und nicht ein Reinigungsmeister und wolle davon nicht wissen noch hören: denn aus dem allen entstehen Götzendienereien.

Der Esp. läßt die Schlußworte: „und wolle davon nicht wissen“ u. s. w. aus oder vielmehr umschreibt dieselben durch den Satz: οὐδὲ μαθήσῃ μάθημα πονηρόν· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα καὶ ὁ νόμος ἀπέειπεν, wodurch zugleich das Verbot der Ko.: μὴ γίνου . . . μαθηματικός, wofür Bickell a. a. D. S. 115 „Sterndeuter“ sagt, seine richtige Deutung erhält. Im Übrigen bestätigt der Esp. ungeachtet seiner freien Textbehandlung den obigen Wortlaut der Ko.

Kind, werde nicht ein Lügner, indem die Lüge zum Diebstahl führt, und nicht ein geldgieriger und nicht ein ruhm-süchtiger Mensch: denn aus dem allen entstehen Diebereien.

Die erste dieser Warnungen sammt ihrer Begründung fehlt im Esp., vielleicht weil derselbe (abweichend von der Ko.) schon früher vom Diebstahl ausführlich geredet

und dabei auch die Lüge in Verbindung mit dem Diebstahl erwähnt hat (c. 2, p. 199, 20). Dagegen tritt an dieser Stelle das Zeugniß des Clemens von Alexandrien für die Echtheit des vorliegenden Textes ein. Die beiden anderen Warnungen, von Zusätzen begleitet, werden jedoch auch im Sittenspiegel hier mitgetheilt.

Kind, werde nicht murrfinnig, indem es zur Schmäherei führt, und nicht anmaßend und nicht übeldenkend: denn aus diesem allen entstehen Schmähreden. Sei vielmehr sanftmüthig, indem die Sanftmüthigen das Himmelreich erben. Werde langmüthig, barmherzig, arglos und ruhig, gut und behutsam und zitternd hinsichtlich der Worte, die du gehört hast. Du sollst dich nicht selbst erhöhen und nicht gestatten deiner Seele Berwegenheit und nicht anhängen mit deiner Seele den Hochgestellten, sondern mit den Gerechten und Demüthigen umgehen. Die dich treffenden Schickungen sollst du für gut hinnehmen, wissend, daß ohne Gott nichts geschieht.

Eine Vergleichung dieses Textes, mit dessen letzten Sätzen wieder die Benutzung des Barnabasbriefes beginnt, und des entsprechenden Abschnittes im Sittenspiegel gestattet keinen Zweifel an der Echtheit des ersteren. Die Übereinstimmung der Ro. und des Esp. ist auch hier größtentheils eine wörtliche. Nur an einer Stelle ergiebt sich insofern ein bemerkenswertherer Unterschied, als nach dem Text: „Werde langmüthig, barmherzig“ in der Ro.

noch die Worte: „friedfertig, rein im Herzen von allem Bösen“ folgen, im Esp. dagegen fehlen. Da sich nun dieselben nach den Ermahnungen zur Sanftmuth und Barmherzigkeit im Hinblick auf die Seligpreisungen der Bergpredigt (Matth. 5, 5—9) von selbst nahe legten und deshalb leicht erst bei der Abfassung der Ro. in die Schilderung des Lebensweges hineingekommen sein können, der Esp. dagegen bei seiner Vorliebe für Schriftbenutzung kaum eine derartige der Schrift entnommene Ermahnung, die sich in seiner Vorlage fand, übergangen hat, sind die betreffenden Worte im obigen Text als wahrscheinlich unecht weggelassen worden.

Kind, denjenigen, welcher zu dir das Wort Gottes redet und dir ein Miturheber des Lebens wird und dir das Siegel im Herrn verlieh, sollst du lieben wie deinen Augapfel, sein gedenken bei Nacht und bei Tage, ihn ehren wie den Herrn: denn woher die Würde des Herrn in der Rede mitgetheilt wird, daselbst ist der Herr. Du sollst aber aufsuchen seine Gegenwart täglich und die Übrigen, damit du dich an ihren Worten erquickest, indem du ihnen anhängst: denn als ein Heiliger sollst du durch Heilige geheiligt werden.

Der Esp. sagt statt: „den sollst du lieben wie deinen Augapfel“, welchen Ausdruck auch der Barnabasbrief hat, nüchterner: „den sollst du verherrlichen.“ Ferner übergeht dieselbe Bearbeitung einerseits die Worte: „der

dir ein Miturheber des Lebens wird und dir das Siegel im Herrn verlieh", erweitert aber anderseits den Satz: „ihn sollst du ehren wie den Herrn“, indem sie dafür schreibt: „du sollst ihn ehren nicht als einen Urheber des Daseins, sondern als einen, der dir ein Beförderer des Wohlsseins wird.“ Man ersieht hieraus, daß der Verfasser des Esp. den obigen Wortlaut vor sich gehabt, aber für zu überschwenglich angesehen und deshalb mit Absicht geändert hat. Außerdem lautet bei ihm auch die Begründung statt: *ὁ Θεὸς γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν*, faßlicher: *ὅπου γὰρ ἡ περὶ Θεοῦ διδασκαλία, ἐκεῖ ὁ Θεὸς πάρεστιν*. Endlich kürzt der Esp. den zweiten Theil der Vorschrift ab, indem er nur sagt: „Du sollst täglich auffuchen die Gegenwart der Heiligen, damit du dich an ihren Worten erquickest.“ Der ungelente Satzbau der Vorlage mag diese Kürzung veranlaßt haben. — Anderseits enthält die Ko. hier den schon besprochenen und als wahrscheinlich unecht dargestellten Zusatz: „Du sollst ihn ehren, je nachdem du es im Stande bist, mit deinem Schweiß und mit der Arbeit deiner Hände u. s. w.“

Du sollst nicht Spaltungen verursachen, vielmehr zum Frieden bringen die Streitenden; du sollst gerecht richten; du sollst nicht persönliche Rücksicht nehmen beim Zurechtweisen wegen eines Fehltrittes: denn nicht Reichtum gilt bei dem Herrn, denn nicht Würden zieht er vor, auch nützt nicht Schönheit, sondern Gleichheit Aller herrscht bei ihm.

Der Esp. dient bei aller Freiheit der Bearbeitung

zunächst den hier mitgetheilten Vorschriften durchweg zur Bestätigung, verweist dann aber statt der vorliegenden Begründung auf eine Anzahl biblischer Beispiele. Ein Zweifel an der Echtheit der betreffenden Worte erscheint gleichwohl nicht angezeigt, da dem Verfasser des Esp. schon der rhythmische Klang des Textes minder genehm sein konnte. Mit dem zweiten „denn“ beginnt nämlich anscheinend ein dichterisches Citat, dessen Versbau sich durch Weglassung des Wörtchens *ἐστὶ* und Umstellung des vorangehenden und des nachfolgenden Wortes leicht wiedergewinnen läßt. Der handschriftliche Text lautet: *οὐ γὰρ ἀξίας προκρίνει, οὐδὲ κάλλος ὠφελεῖ, ἀλλὰ ἰσότης ἐστὶ πάντων παρ' αὐτῷ.* Das ist, in Verse gebracht:

*οὐ γὰρ ἀξίας προκρίνει,
οὐδὲ κάλλος ὠφελεῖ,
ἀλλὰ πάντων ἰσότης παρ' αὐτῷ.*

Nun entspricht aber die Benutzung eines derartigen Textes eher der Geistesart des Verfassers der Entscheidung, der auch sonst einen gewissen Rhythmus der Darstellung liebt, als dem unbeholfenen Autor der Ko. Daher die obige Textgestalt beibehalten.

In deinem Gebet sollst du nicht zweifeln, ob es sein wird oder nicht: sei nicht ein Mensch, der seine Hände ausstreckt zum Empfangen, zum Geben aber sie einzieht. Wenn du hast, so gieb vermittelst deiner Hände zur Sühne deiner Sünden. Du sollst dich nicht besinnen zum Geben und sollst nicht murren, wenn du gibst: denn du

wirst erkennen, wer der gute Lohnerstatte ist. Du sollst dich nicht abwenden vom Bedürftigen, sondern Gemeinschaft gewähren in allen Dingen deinem Bruder und nichts eigen nennen: denn wenn ihr im Unsterblichen Genossen seid, um wie viel mehr in den vergänglichen Dingen.

Das Wort „gute“ vor Lohnerstatte fehlt im Sp., findet sich jedoch schon im Barnabasbriefe. Statt des letzten Satzes, welcher die Pflicht des menschlichen Mitgefühls auf die Glaubensgenossen zu beschränken scheint, sagt der Sp. zutreffender: „denn gemeinsam wurde das Empfangen von Gott allen Menschen zubereitet“. Für die Echtheit obigen Textes spricht indeß gleichfalls die Übereinstimmung mit dem obengenannten Briefe. Im Übrigen kehren die Vorschriften der Ro. im Sp. fast Wort für Wort wieder.

Dieses ist der Weg des Lebens, innerhalb dessen (des Lebens) gefunden zu werden euch beschieden sein möge durch Jesum Christum unsern Herrn. —

So der Sp. nach einem längeren, größtentheils dem Barnabasbriefe entnommenen Nachtrage. In der Ro. folgt an dieser Stelle bereits die durch die Anlage des Ganzen geforderte Schlußermahnung des Bartholomäus. Die Worte: „Dieses ist der Weg des Lebens“ können jedoch in der Entscheidung, da hier bald noch der Weg des Todes geschildert werden sollte, kaum gefehlt haben. Und auch die Wunschformel dürfte nicht erst dem Sp., sondern schon der vorgenannten Schrift angehören, da

auch die Schilderung des Todesweges mit einem Wunsche schließt, der wegen der Anrede „Kinder“, die sonst im Sp. nicht vorkommt, wahrscheinlich aus der Entscheidung stammt.

Der Weg des Todes aber ist an schlimmen Handlungen erkennbar: denn auf demselben findet sich Unkenntniß Gottes und Einführung vieler Götter, —

Die einzige Textquelle ist hier der Sp., eine erweiternde Ausschmückung der Vorlage von Seiten des letzteren läßt sich jedoch nicht annehmen.

durch welche Mordthaten (entstehen),
 Ehebrechereien, Hurereien, Meineide,
 gesetzwidrige Begierden, Diebereien,
 Götzendienereien, Zaubereien, Gift-
 mischereien, Räubereien, falsche Zeug-
 nisse, Heucheleien, Doppelherzigkeiten,
 Betrug, Überhebung, Bosheit, Anmaßung,
 Habsucht, schändliche Rede, Eifersucht,
 Frechheit, Hochmuth, Hoffart, Schenlosig-
 keit, Verfolgung der Guten, gegen die
 Wahrheit Haß, zur Lüge Liebe, Unkennt-
 niß der Gerechtigkeit: —

Das Sündenverzeichnis der Entscheidung dürfte hier durch Einschiebungen und Umstellungen mehrfach erweitert und verwirrt worden sein. Zur Wiederherstellung der ursprünglichen Textgestalt fehlt jedoch, da die Constit. unsere einzige Quelle sind, jeder Anhalt.

denn die Vollbringer dieser Dinge
 hängen nicht dem Guten an noch auch
 dem gerechten Gerichte, sind wachsam

nicht zum Guten, sondern zum Schlimmen, von denen weitab ist Sanftmuth und Geduld, das Falschgeliebend, jagend nach Belohnung, nicht bemitleidend den Armen, sich nicht anstrengend wegen eines Belasteten, nicht erkennend den, der sie gemacht, Mörder von Kindern, Zerstörer des Gebildes Gottes, sich abwendend vom Bedürftigen, Beistände der Reichen, Verächter der Armen, in Allem sündhaft.

Die apost. Constit. wiederholen hier fast Wort für Wort den Text des Barnabasbriefes. Ob sie hierin auch mit der Entscheidung übereinstimmen, läßt sich nicht mehr feststellen.

Möchtet ihr bewahrt sein, Kinder,
vor allen diesen Dingen! —

S. die Bemerkung zur Wunschformel, mit welcher die Darstellung des Lebensweges schließt.

Biographische Notizen über Guiseppe Malatesta.

Von A. Nürnberger.

Don Guiseppe Malatesta ist ein Geschichtsschreiber, dessen Werke nur als Manuscripte erhalten sind, während über seine Lebensverhältnisse so gut wie nichts bekannt ist. Die Bibliotheca Vallicellana in Rom bewahrt seinen literarischen Nachlaß, auf welchen Lämmer in den *Analecta Romana* S. 77. 80. 81, *Melemaum Rom.* Mantissa S. 21. und 243 aufmerksam machte. Im *Giornale Napol.* (Nuova serie 1879, I, 3. S. 354) brachte Gaetano Capasso einige Notizen über Malatesta's Geschichte des Venezianischen Interdicts, welch' letztere auch Moriz Brosch bekannt ist, der in seiner Geschichte des Kirchenstaates (I Bd. Gotha 1880. S. 360. not. 1.) von ihrem Autor sagt: „Der Verfasser schreibt immer im papistischen Sinne und war im Vertrauen des römischen Hofes, vielleicht des Papstes selbst.“

Von besonderem Werth für Malatesta's Biographie sind die Codices Vallicellani M. 8 und M. 9 = *Carteggio del Sgr. G. Malatesta concernente per la mag-*

3.

Theologische Quartalschrift
(Tübingen) 66:4. (1884)

I.
Abhandlungen.

1.

Ueber die sog. Zwölfapostellehre, ihre hauptsächlichsten
Quellen und ihre erste Aufnahme.

Von Dr. Krawinkel.

1. Vorbemerkung.

Bei dem Mangel an sicheren Nachrichten über die in der Aufschrift genannte neuveröffentlichte Schrift des christlichen Alterthums ¹⁾ erscheint die Frage nach den

1) S. den Wortlaut derselben oben S. 383 ff. — Eusebius (H. E. III, 26 ed. Lämmer.) erwähnt „die sog. Lehren der Apostel“, Athanasius (Ep. fest. 39) eine beim Katechumenenunterricht schon von den Vätern verwendete „sog. Lehre der Apostel“. Der Annahme, daß hiermit unsere „Lehre der zwölf Apostel“ gemeint sei, stehen jedoch ernste Schwierigkeiten entgegen. Denn zur Verschiedenheit der Titel, welche für sich allein allerdings nicht entscheidend sein würde, kommt noch einentheils die aus Pseudo-Cyprian (De aleatoribus c. 4) ersichtliche Textverschiedenheit der Doctrinae apostolorum und der Zwölf-

Quellen oder Vorlagen, welche der Verfasser zu seiner Ausarbeitung benutzt hat, an erster Stelle von Wichtigkeit. Die ausführlichste Erörterung dieser Frage hat bis jetzt Ad. Harnack¹⁾ geliefert. Das Ergebnis seiner Untersuchung lautet: „Der Verfasser der *Αἰδοαχῆ* hat benutzt 1) das A. T., 2) das Evangelium, 3) den Barnabasbrief, 4) den Hirten des Hermas; er hat aber außerdem höchst wahrscheinlich Stücke aus der alten Briefliteratur gekannt; unsicher bleibt, wie sich zeigen wird, ob er bereits Kenntnis von dem Evangelium nach Johannes besessen hat²⁾.“ Im Folgenden seien nun zunächst einige Umstände hervorgehoben, welche darauf schließen lassen, daß der Verfasser der Zwölfapostellehre — abgesehen von der gelegentlichen Benutzung des alten Testaments, des Barnabasbriefes und des Hirten sowie eines Evangeliums, welches wahrscheinlich das Evangelium secundum (duodecim) apostolos der Nazä-

apostellehre sowie andernteils die scharfe Anfechtung hinzu, welche der Inhalt der Zwölfapostellehre nach Const. Ap. VII, 27 schon vor den Tagen des Athanasius erfahren hat (S. w. u.). — Am bedeutsamsten erschien anfänglich der Umstand, daß in der Stichometrie des Nicephorus der Umfang der Apostellehre auf 200 Stichen angegeben wird, unsere Zwölfapostellehre aber in der Handschrift 203 Zeilen ausfüllt. Aber auch dieser Beweis für die Identität beider Schriften ist erschüttert, seitdem Ad. Harnack (v. Gebhardt und Harnack, Texte und Untersuchungen, II, 1 Leipz. 1884. Proleg. S. 13 f.) darauf hingewiesen hat, daß die Zwölfapostellehre c. 10 700 Buchstaben, „d. i., den Stichos zu 35 Buchstaben gerechnet, rund 300 Stichen“, zählt, wonach die Angabe des Nicephorus eher auf die anscheinend kürzer gefaßten Doctrinae apostolorum zu beziehen sein dürfte.

1) A. a. O. S. 63—88.

2) A. a. O. S. 65.

räer und Ebioniten war ¹⁾, — seiner Arbeit hauptsächlich zwei Schriften zu Grunde gelegt hat, nämlich

1) A. d. Sarnack schließt seine einschlägige Untersuchung a. a. O. S. 79 mit den Worten: „Soweit das Material Schlüsse zuläßt, scheint somit das Urtheil gesichert, daß der Verfasser der *Αἰδαχή* unter dem „Evangelium des Herrn“ ein aus dem Lucas-Ev. bereichertes Matthäus-Evangelium vorausgesetzt und benutzt hat. Ist das vielleicht das Ev. sec. Aegyptios? Für diese Hypothese lassen sich manche Gründe anführen.“ Welches diese Gründe seien, wird uns jedoch nicht mitgetheilt. Für das Hebräer-Evangelium der Nazaräer und Ebioniten (erwähnt u. a. von Hieronymus ad Matth. XII, 13 mit den Worten: in evangelio, quo utuntur Nazaraei et Ebionitae, quod nuper in graecum de hebraeo sermone transtulimus et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthaei authenticum, und de vir. illustr. c. 2: evangelium quoque, quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos et a me nuper in graecum latinumque sermonem translatum est, quo et Origenes saepe utitur; s. Hilgenfeld, Nov. Test. extr. can. IV, ed. 2, p. 5 sqq.) sprechen folgende Anzeichen: a) Das-selbe stimmt vorwiegend mit unserem Matthäus-Evangelium überein, wie auch der Evangelientext der Zwölfapostellehre. b) Das-selbe rechnete es zu den größten Verbrechen, einen Mitbruder zu betrüben (in evangelio, schreibt Hieronymus ad Ezech. XVIII, 7, quod juxta Hebraeos Nazaraei legere consueverunt, inter maxima ponitur crimina, qui fratris sui spiritum contristaverit), und erklärt so die unbiblische (gegen Matth. XVIII, 15—17 verstößende) Strenge der Zwölfapostellehre gegen die Verleher der Nächstenliebe (XV, 3 der Sarnack'schen Verszählung). c) Das-selbe führte bereits zur Zeit des Origenes (vergl. die obige Angabe des Hieronymus de vir. illustr. c. 2, Origenes Hom. I in Luc. ad I, 1: ecclesia quatuor habet evangelia, haereses plurima, e quibus quoddam scribitur secundum Aegyptios, aliud juxta duodecim apostolos, und Hieronymus adv. Pelagianos III, 2: in evangelio juxta Hebraeos, quod chaldaeo quidem sermone, sed hebraicis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum apostolos sive, ut plerique autumant, juxta Matthaeum, bei Hilgenfeld l. c. p. 8, 19, 42) auch den Titel: Evangelium Domini secundum duodecim apostolos und gehört somit wohl denselben

1) eine schon lange vor den Tagen des Clemens von Alexandrien entstandene Darstellung der zwei Wege des Lebens und des Todes und 2) eine noch unter den Nachwirkungen des Unterganges Jerusalems entstandene anti-ebionitische Verordnung. Zum Schluß sodann und einigermaßen zur Bestätigung der vorhergehenden Darlegungen möge die Aufnahme, welche der Zwölfapostellehre bei ihrem ersten Erscheinen in kirchlichen Kreisen zu Theil geworden ist, ein wenig näher beleuchtet werden.

2. Die Darstellung der zwei Wege.

1. In der sog. apost. Kirchenordnung¹⁾ findet sich eine Beschreibung des Lebensweges, welche größtentheils wörtlich mit der Darstellung desselben Gegenstandes in der Zwölfapostellehre übereinstimmt. Schon Bryennios nimmt deshalb an, daß die Zwölfapl. hier der erstgenannten Schrift als Quelle gedient habe. Die Uebereinstimmung der beiden Texte kann indes doch

Kreisen an, in welchen unsere *Λιδαχή Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* entstanden ist. Vgl. Apg. 5, 42.

1) S. über dieselbe Tüb. Theol. Quartal-Schrift, 1882, S. 362 ff. Berichtigend sei bei diesem Anlaß zu S. 364 bemerkt, daß die Lagarde-Hilgenfeld'sche Vermuthung, in der apost. Ko. sei ein dem zweiten Jahrhundert angehöriges Büchlein namens »Duae viae vel Judicium Petri« (s. Hilgenfeld, Nov. Test. extr. can. IV, ed. 1, 1866, Titelblatt und p. 3, 93 und 95; vgl. ed. 2, 1884, Titelblatt und p. 3, 90 und 92) wiedergefunden, bereits mehrere Jahre vor mir von Ad. Harnack in Zweifel gezogen und schon in dessen Ausgabe des Barnabasbriefes vom Jahre 1878 (s. P. XLVI und S. 73) beanstandet worden ist. S. auch Th. Zahn, Ignatius v. Ant. (1873), S. 583.

auch von der beiderseitigen Benutzung einer dritten die zwei Wege behandelnden Schrift herrühren und hierfür sprechen mehr oder minder entscheidend folgende Umstände.

a) Beim Gebot der Gottesliebe bringt die Ro. 1) den Zusatz: „und verherrlichen den, der dich erlöst hat vom Tode.“ Diese Worte des Barnabasbriefes (XIX, 2) sind allerdings möglicher Weise erst vom Verfasser der Ro. hinzugefügt, obschon der schriftstellerischen Befähigung des letzteren durch eine solche Annahme vielleicht zu viel zugetraut wird 2). Sie können aber auch der Vorlage angehört haben und vom Verfasser der Zwölfapl. mit Absicht ausgemerzt worden sein, da die letztere durchweg von einer bereits erfolgten Erlösung schweigt, ja selbst in ihren eucharistischen Gebeten trotz 1. Cor. 11, 26 den Tod des Herrn zu ver-

Handwritten note: Barnabas

Handwritten note: Barn. Cap. 19.
Rom. 1. Cor. 11.

1) Hilgenfeld, l. c. ed. 2 p. 112.

2) Brhennios, *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, Ct. 1883, σελ. 59', schreibt von der Ro.: „Συντέτακται δέ, ὡς ἔμοι γε δοκεῖ, οὐ μετὰ σπουδῆς (ἄσκοπον γὰρ ὅλως ἔοικε τὸ ἔργον), ἀλλὰ παιδιᾶς χάριν μᾶλλον. Näheres s. Theol. Qu.-Schr. 1882, S. 384—386, 395—399, 407 f., 410—413. — Auch in dem unmittelbar vorhergehenden Satze: ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη hat die Ro. einen besseren Text, als die Zwölfapl., welcher schwerlich erst auf Rechnung des Verfassers der Ro. kommt; ebenso verhält es sich mit dem Zusatz der Ro.: οὗς δὲ ἐλεήσεις zu Zwölfapl. II, 7. — Uebrigens hat der Verfasser der Ro. doch an obiger Stelle einen eigenen Zusatz angebracht. Es sind die Worte: ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη. Aber dieselben verrathen ihren Ursprung sofort dadurch, daß sie nach dem vorausgegangenen πρῶτον überflüssig sind, wogegen der Hinweis auf die Wohlthat der Erlösung nach den auf die Schöpfung Bezug nehmenden Worten: „Du sollst lieben den Gott, der dich gemacht hat“ sehr zweckmäßig ist.

künden unterläßt. S. c. IX und X. Und diese letztere Annahme empfiehlt sich deshalb als die wahrscheinlichere, weil der Verfasser der Zwölfapl. gerade an dieser Stelle sich einer auffälligen Kürze und Eilfertigkeit befleißigt, vermöge welcher er nicht bloß das Gebot der Nächstenliebe mit den kurzen Worten: „deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst“ (ohne Wiederholung des Zeitwortes: „du sollst lieben“) wiedergiebt, sondern auch das der Gottesliebe (ohne, wie die Ro., den Zusatz: „aus deinem ganzen Herzen“ beizufügen) auf die Worte beschränkt: „du sollst lieben den Gott, der dich gemacht hat“, obschon der Zusatz im Gebot der Nächstenliebe „wie dich selbst“ auch bei dem der Gottesliebe eine Maßbestimmung wie „aus deinem ganzen Herzen“ verlangte oder ebenfalls hätte wegbleiben sollen.

b) Die Ansprache bezüglich des ständigen Seelsorgers der Gemeinde lautet in der Ro.: „Kind, denjenigen, welcher zu dir das Wort Gottes redet und dir ein Miturheber des Lebens wird und dir das Siegel im Herrn verlieh, sollst du lieben wie deinen Augapfel; du sollst aber gedenken seiner bei Nacht und bei Tage, sollst ihn ehren wie den Herrn: denn woher die Würde des Herrn ertönt, daselbst ist der Herr ¹⁾.“ Statt dessen sagt die Zwölfapl. (IV, 1) kürzer: „Mein Kind, desjenigen, welcher zu dir das Wort Gottes redet, sollst du gedenken bei Nacht und bei Tage; du sollst aber ihn ehren wie den Herrn: denn woher die Würde des Herrn ertönt, daselbst ist der

1) Hilgenfeld, l. c.² p. 114.

Herr." Auch hier läßt sich zunächst Beides denken, sowohl daß der Verfasser der Ko. seine Vorlage erst durch die fraglichen Zusätze erweitert habe, um nicht jedweden, welcher sich zum Verkündiger des göttlichen Wortes aufwirft, deshalb schon der treuesten Anhänglichkeit für würdig zu erklären, als auch daß die in der Zwölfapł. fehlenden Worte absichtlich unterdrückt worden seien, weil der Verfasser dieser Schrift in Ansehung der Seelsorge in der That absonderliche Wege geht, indem er z. B. vorschreibt, daß jeder „Prophet“, welcher in einer Gemeinde sich niederzulassen wünscht und durch sein Betragen sich als uneigennützig und wahrhaft erwiesen hat, als Hoherpriester der Christiheit mit den gesetzlichen Erstlings Spenden unterhalten werde (c. XI und XIII): einer solchen Denkweise konnte die Erinnerung an denjenigen, welcher nicht erst seit gestern oder heute in der Gemeinde lehrt, sondern den Gläubigen einst die Sacramente der Wiedergeburt gespendet hat und seitdem ihr ständiger Miturheber des Lebens ist, doch nicht recht zusagen. Für die Ursprünglichkeit des vorliegenden Textes der Ko. spricht aber noch der Umstand, daß dieser letztere anscheinend auch bereits im sog. Sittenspiegel (Const. Ap. VII, 9) mit berücksichtigt wird und somit wohl nicht erst vom Verfasser der Ko. stammt.

c) Die Darstellung des Lebensweges enthält sowohl in der Ro. als in der Zwölfapl. einen Abschnitt, welcher sich durch eine auffällig künstliche Gliederung und Verzierung auszeichnet. Es sind die sieben (oder sechs) Ansprachen oder Mahnworte, welche mit der Anrede „Mein Kind“ eingeleitet und durch sechsmalige (in der Zwölfapl., welche die beiden sehr kurzen Ansprachen bez. der Unkeusch-

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heit in eine zusammenzieht ¹⁾, nur durch fünfmalige) Wiederholung der Anrede deutlich von einander unterschieden werden ²⁾. In diesem Abschnitt erscheint nun nicht bloß die Anzahl der Ansprachen als symbolisch bedeutsam mit Absicht gewählt, sondern auch die der Glieder, aus welchen die einzelnen Ansprachen bestehen, peinlich (oder sollen wir lieber sagen: kleinlich?) berechnet. Wenigstens enthält die erste Ansprache — nach einer einleitenden Ermahnung allgemeinen Inhalts — *zwei* (oder, die Einleitung hinzugezählt, *drei*), die zweite und dritte je *eine* ³⁾, die vierte und fünfte je *zwei* und die sechste und siebente (anscheinend) je *zweimal zwei* Ausführungen. Und nicht bloß der Anfang jeder neuen Ansprache wird sprachlich — durch die regelmäßig wiederkehrende *Anrede* — gekennzeichnet, sondern auch das Ende jeder einzelnen Ausführung oder Ermahnung — durch regelmäßig angehängte *Begründungssätze*, welche besonders bei der Besprechung der negativen Pflichtenreihe refrainartig klingen, — bemerklich gemacht. Diese Begründungssätze lauten nach der Ordnung der sieben Ansprachen, wenn wir zunächst nur den Wortlaut der Zwölfapl. berücksichtigen:

1) Daß erst der Verfasser der Ko. hier eine Anrede eingeschaltet habe, etwa weil ein neuer Redner auftritt, ist, da später *Rephas* ohne Anrede beginnt, minder wahrscheinlich, als daß die Zwölfapl. hier von ihrer Vorlage abgewichen sei.

2) Zwölfapl. III, 1 ff.; Ko. bei Hilgenfeld, l. c. ² 113—116.

3) So nach dem Texte, welcher der R.D. zu Grunde liegt; die R.D. selbst schaltet hier ihre Bemerkungen über den weiblichen Zustdämon ein.

I.

1. „denn es führt der Zorn zur Mordthat;

II.

3. denn es führt die Gier zur Hurerei;

IV.¹⁾

5. indem es zum Götzendienste führt;

6. denn aus dem Allen entsteht Götzendienst²⁾;

VI.

9. indem es zur Lästerung führt;

10. denn aus dem Allen entstehen Lästerungen;

11. indem die Sanftmütigen die Erde erben werden;

12. wissend³⁾, daß ohne Gott nichts geschieht;

2. denn aus dem Allen entstehen Mordthaten;

III.

4. denn aus dem Allen entstehen Ehebrüche;

V.

7. indem die Lüge zum Diebstahl führt;

8. denn aus dem Allen entstehen Diebstähle;

VII.

13. denn woher die Würde des Herrn ertönt, daselbst ist der Herr;

14. —

15. denn du wirst erfahren, wer der gute Lohnerstatter ist;

16. denn wenn ihr im Unsterblichen Genossen seid, um wie viel mehr in den vergänglichen Dingen.“ —

1) Wie der Todesweg der Zwölfapl. (V, 1) zeigt, wird der Götzendienst hier nicht mit dem Ehebruch, sondern mit dem Diebstahl und Raub (vgl. Col. 3, 5 und Matth. 6, 24) in eine Reihe gestellt: gleichwie dem Ehebruchverbote werden demnach auch dem Diebstahlverbote zwei Ansprachen zugetheilt, nur mit dem Unterschied, daß die Zahl der Ermahnungen und Begründungssätze, entsprechend dem planmäßigen Anwachsen des Umfanges der Ansprachen, sich nun bereits verdoppelt.

2) Die Ro. bietet auch hier (vgl. 2, 4, 8 und 10) die Mehrzahl (*ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρεῖαι γιννῶνται*), wie ohne Zweifel der ursprüngliche Text gelautet hat.

3) Der Ausdruck ist, wie so vieles Andere, wörtlich aus dem Lichtwege des Barnabasbriefes herübergenommen und leitet ohne Zweifel ebenfalls einen Begründungssatz („denn ohne Gott geschieht nichts“) ein.

Es ist unverkennbar, daß der Verfasser dieser Sprüche den bestimmten Plan verfolgt, den Abschluß eines jeden Theiles seiner Ansprachen durch einen mehr oder minder refrainartigen Begründungssatz auch sprachlich hervorzuheben. Dieser Plan findet sich lückenlos durchgeführt bis zur letzten Ansprache, wo die erste Ermahnung (den Verkündiger des göttlichen Wortes wie den Herrn zu ehren) noch regelrecht mit dem unter 13. angeführten Begründungssatz schließt, dann die an zweiter Stelle folgende Ermahnung zum (täglichen, friedfertigen, im Urtheil vorsichtigen und im Zurechtweisen unparteiischen) Verkehr mit den „Heiligen“ des üblichen Begründungssatzes entbehrt, die an dritter und vierter Stelle sich anreihenden Ermahnungen zum bereitwilligen Almosenspenden und zur Anerkennung des nur beschränkten Anrechtes auf Privateigenthum aber wieder planmäßig die unter 15. und 16. mitgetheilten Begründungssätze bei sich haben. Es unterliegt mithin kaum einem Zweifel, daß der Text der Zwölfapl. hier lückenhaft ist. Die fehlenden Textworte aber enthält die Ro., in welcher wir bei der Ermahnung bezüglich des Verkehrs mit den Gläubigen neben einer größeren Interpolation ¹⁾ dem abschließenden Begrün-

1) Hilgenfeld, l. c.² p. 115, 2—8. Wir lesen hier zunächst: *κολλώμενος γὰρ ἁγίοις ἀγιασθήσῃ*, was mit den unmittelbar vorhergehenden Worten (Aussuchen sollst du täglich die Heiligen, „damit du dich an ihren Reden erquickest“) nicht recht im Einklange steht und deshalb wohl erst vom Verfasser der Ro. stammt. Alsdann kehrt die Rede zum Verkünder des göttlichen Wortes zurück, um denselben als würdig des Lohnes und der Beisteuer zu seinem Unterhalt darzustellen: auch dieser Passus ist schwerlich ursprünglich. Wollte man aber auch entgegengesetzter Meinung sein und demgemäß die siebente Ansprache nicht als viergliedrig, sondern als sechsgliedrig betrachten, so würde dadurch

dungssätze begegnen: „denn nicht Reichthum gilt bei dem Herrn, denn nicht Würden zieht er vor, auch nützt nicht Schönheit, sondern Gleichheit aller herrscht bei ihm“, — ein Text, welcher nach der Aufforderung, beim Zurechtweisen nicht auf die Person zu sehen, inhaltlich in den Zusammenhang bestens paßt, aber vielleicht wegen des rhythmischen Klangs seiner Worte, die einem Gedicht entnommen scheinen, dem Verfasser der Zwölfapl. nicht zusagte. Will man deshalb nicht leicht hin annehmen, daß die fraglichen Worte gleichwohl nur durch das Versehen eines Abschreibers zufällig aus dem Texte der Zwölfapl. verschwunden seien, so wird sich der Schluß nicht umgehen lassen, daß die Zwölfapl. sowohl als auch die Ro. wahrscheinlich auf einer älteren Darstellung der zwei Wege des Lebens und des Todes fußen, deren Wortlaut weder in der einen noch in der anderen Schrift, da auch in der Ro. manche Sätze, wie namentlich der Todesweg, vermißt werden, uns vollständig erhalten ist ¹⁾).

2. Die Darstellung des Lebensweges in der Zwölfapl. besteht, wie auf Grund der voranstehenden Auseinandersetzung sowie dreier Ueberschriften unzweifelhaft erscheint, aus fünf Abschnitten, nämlich 1) aus den

der obige Nachweis, daß die Zwölfapl. den ursprünglichen Wortlaut der sieben Ansprachen nicht mehr vollständig enthält, doch keine Beeinträchtigung erleiden.

1) Daß der Verfasser der Ro. nicht auch die Zwölfapl. gekannt habe, soll jedoch mit dem Obigen nicht gesagt sein. Zur Vertheilung des Textes an die redend auftretenden Apostel in der Ro. kann vielmehr gerade der Titel der Zwölfapl. angeregt haben und dergl. m. Doch ist die letztere nicht als Quelle der Ro. anzusehen.

*Die drei
gottlichen
Worte
Zwölfapl.*

Quelle

beiden Geboten der Gottes- und Nächstenliebe, von welchen das letztere erst in positiver und dann in negativer Formulirung mitgetheilt wird (I, 2), 2) aus einer Reihe von Vollkommenheitsprüchen oder Idealvorschriften des Evangeliums und der christlichen Prophetie bezüglich der Feindesliebe und der Arglosigkeit in Erdulung von Gewaltthat und Ausbeutung (I, 3—6), 3) aus einer übersichtlichen Aufzählung christlicher Enthaltungs- und Bethätigungspflichten, welche zunächst an die Verbote der zweiten mosaischen Gesetzestafel sich anschließen und somit eine Auslegung zur negativen Wortfassung des Gebotes der Nächstenliebe bilden (II, 2—6, vgl. I, 2^a), zuletzt aber positive Bethätigungen der Nächstenliebe (mit Einschluß der Feindesliebe) vorschreiben und dabei bis zur vollkommensten und selbstlosesten Opferliebe sich aufschwingen (II, 7), 4) aus den vorhin besprochenen, hier in der Sechszahl auftretenden Ansprachen, welche, ähnlich wie der vorige Abschnitt, erst negative und dann positive Pflichten der Nächstenliebe einschärfen, dabei aber die Enthaltungspflichten von vornherein auf die schlimmen Herzensregungen und Anfänge des Bösen ausdehnen und desgleichen den Bethätigungspflichten ein weiteres Geltungsgebiet, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Verkehrs mit den Glaubensgenossen, vorzeichnen, ja auch darüber noch hinausgehend einerseits die der ersten mosaischen Gesetzestafel entsprechenden Verbote des Gözendienstes und der Lästerung (III, 4 und 6) sowie anderseits die Pflichten der kindlichen Ergebung in Gottes Willen und der dankbaren Anhänglichkeit an den Verkündiger des göttlichen Wortes (III, 10 und IV, 1) in Erinnerung bringen und insofern

auch eine (negativ und positiv lautende) Auslegung des Gebotes der Gottesliebe (vgl. I, 2^b) enthalten, und 5) aus einer Reihe von Ermahnungen religiösen Inhalts, nämlich bezüglich der gottesfürchtigen Kindererziehung und entsprechenden Behandlung der christlichen Knechte und Mägde, des Gehorsams der letzteren gegen ihre Herrn um Gottes Willen und der schuldigen Aufrichtigkeit und Treue gegen Gott (IV, 9—14).

Vergleicht man nun diese fünf Abschnitte untereinander, so springt der engere Zusammenhang des dritten und vierten Abschnittes von selbst in die Augen, da beide erst negative und dann positive Vorschriften bringen und bei ihren negativen Vorschriften die dekalogischen Verbote: „du sollst nicht tödten“ u. s. w. zu Grunde legen. Desgleichen läßt sich eine nähere Zusammengehörigkeit des dritten Abschnittes mit dem ersten gar nicht verkennen, indem die negativen und positiven Vorschriften des dritten Abschnittes zu der positiven und negativen Formulirung des Gebotes der Nächstenliebe, mit welcher der erste Abschnitt schließt, die unmittelbare Auslegung bilden. Aber auch der vierte Abschnitt steht mit dem ersten in einer näheren inhaltlichen Verbindung und nicht bloß in einem mittelbaren, durch seine Gleichförmigkeit mit dem dritten Abschnitte hergestellten Zusammenhange, indem, wie der dritte Abschnitt im Anschluß an die letzten Dekalogsworte das Gebot der Nächstenliebe erläutert, ebenso der vierte Abschnitt durch seine Bezugnahme auf die ersten Dekalogsworte auch noch das Gebot der Gottesliebe verdeutlicht. Diese drei Abschnitte erweisen sich somit von vornherein als ein einheitliches und in sich

abgeschlossenes Ganzes, in welchem der angemessene Fortschritt der Gedanken von selbst hervortritt.

Dagegen fällt es nicht leicht, in sämtlichen fünf Abschnitten einen einheitlichen Plan und Gedankengang zu finden, obschon der Verfasser uns dadurch zu Hilfe kommt, daß er den drei letzten Abschnitten die gemeinsame Ueberschrift giebt: *Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδασχῆς* (II, 1), den zweiten Abschnitt aber mit den Worten: *Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδασχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη* (I, 3) und den ersten mit den Worten: *Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη* (I, 2) einleitet. Im Sinne des Verfassers besteht die Darstellung des Lebensweges hiernach aus drei Haupttheilen, von welchen der dritte allein drei Abschnitte in sich begreift ¹⁾. Aber welcher Zusammenhang verbindet diese Haupttheile? Bryennios ²⁾ spricht zwei Vermuthungen aus. Nach der einen wären die zwei (im ersten Haupttheile kurz angeführten) Gebote der Gottes- und Nächstenliebe nach einander Gegenstand des zweiten und des dritten Haupttheiles; nach der andern unterschieden sich die beiden letzten Haupttheile wie die zwei Sätze: „Thue das Gute“ und „Meide das Böse“. Diese zweite Vermuthung ist jedoch augenscheinlich unhaltbar, da im dritten, vierten

1) Im Umfange sind diese drei Haupttheile erklärlicher Weise einander nicht gleich: der erste zählt (bei Hilgenfeld l. c. ² p. 94 sqq.) nicht mehr als 3 Druckzeilen, der zweite bereits 18 oder 3 mal 6 und der dritte gar 56 oder noch über 3 mal 18 Druckzeilen. Doch entspricht dieses Anschwellen des Umfanges der schon oben gekennzeichneten Manier, in welcher die 7 Ansprachen abgefaßt sind und welcher wir auch im Todeswege wieder begegnen werden.

2) A. a. O. S. 10.

und fünften der oben beschriebenen Abschnitte ebensowohl Bethätigungs- als Enthaltungspflichten eingeschränkt werden. Aber auch die erstgenannte Vermuthung, wonach der zweite Haupttheil die Forderungen der Gottesliebe und der dritte die der Nächstenliebe einläßlicher darstellen soll, widerlegt sich von selbst, da die Pflichten der Gottesliebe, wie die obige Inhaltsangabe zeigt, auch im dritten Haupttheile und zwar hier weit offener als im zweiten zur Darstellung gelangen. Und dieser letztere Umstand entscheidet auch gegen die Aufstellungen Ad. Harnack's¹⁾, wonach der dritte Haupttheil die Nächstenliebe, der zweite aber die Gottesliebe zum Gegenstande hätte, indem die Vorschriften des zweiten Haupttheiles, die Feinde zu lieben, dem Zuschlagenden auch die andere Wange zu reichen und jedem Bittenden unterschiedslos zu geben (I, 3—6), eine Weltentsagung verlangten, „die gar nicht mehr durch den Gesichtspunkt des Dienstes am Nächsten motivirt werden“ könnte und die im Urchristenthum in der That (neben dem Gebet) für „die direkte und wesentliche Bethätigung der Gottesliebe“ angesehen worden wäre. Denn mit demselben Rechte muß dann auch im dritten Haupttheile eine Auslegung des Gebotes der Gottesliebe gefunden werden, da uns hier Vorschriften begegnen wie, den Nächsten unter Umständen mehr zu lieben als die eigene Seele (II, 7), schlimme Erlebnisse als gute hinzunehmen, da ohne Gott ja doch Nichts geschehe (III, 10), den Verkündiger des göttlichen Wortes wie den Herrn zu ehren (IV, 1), gegenüber einem Genossen der unvergänglichen Güter Nichts sein eigen zu nennen (IV, 8), dem Ge-

1) A. a. O. S. 45 ff.

bieter als einem Abbilde Gottes mit Scheu und Furcht zu gehorchen (IV, 11), alles Gottmißfällige zu hassen (IV, 12) und öffentlich (in der Gemeinde) seine Uebertretungen zu bekennen, um nicht mit bösem Gewissen zum Gebet hinzutreten (IV, 14). Diese Vorschriften setzen nicht weniger, als die Ermahnungen zur Feindesliebe sowie zur willfährigen Unbilderduldung und Mildthätigkeit, eine wirksame, lebendige Gottesliebe voraus; ja diese Vorschriften weisen auf diese ihre Voraussetzung wiederholt und unzweideutig hin, wogegen im zweiten Haupttheil nur ein einziges Mal (zur Empfehlung der unterschiedslosen Mildthätigkeit) auf Gott Bezug genommen wird (I, 5), daneben aber allerhand Hinweise sich hervordrängen, die eher an die Selbstliebe als an die Gottesliebe denken lassen, wie daß der Christ ja doch mehr Nächstenliebe zeigen solle als der Heide und daß er alsdann keinen Feind haben werde (I, 3), daß er vollkommen sein werde, wenn er dem Zuschlagenden auch die andere Wange reiche (I, 4), daß er Weggenommenes ja doch nicht wiederzuerlangen im Stande sei, weshalb er es auch nicht erst zurückfordern solle (I, 4), und daß er seinerseits keine Schuld habe, wenn er gemäß dem Gebote allen Bittenden und darunter auch solchen, die nicht bedürftig sind, gebe (I, 5). Nach der Auffassung Harnack's müßte zwischen dem zweiten und dritten Haupttheile doch mindestens das umgekehrte Verhältniß in der Motivierung der Vorschriften obwalten. Wie die Dinge liegen, wird sich deshalb keine der obigen Vermuthungen über den Zusammenhang der drei Haupttheile festhalten lassen, vielmehr die Absicht des Verfassers dahin gegangen sein, zu den beiden Hauptgeboten des Christenthums noch

zwei Reihen von Bemerkungen hinzuzufügen, von welchen die erstere sofort in volltönigen Weisungen die Höhe der christlichen Vollkommenheit beschreiben, die letztere aber — unter nur gelegentlichem Einschluß von Vollkommenheitslehren — mit den negativen und positiven Grundforderungen der Nächstenliebe beginnen und von da bis zur Einschränkung der wichtigsten religiösen Pflichten fortschreiten sollte.

Eine lichtvolle Anordnung und ohne Weiteres ansprechende Darstellung liegt jedoch hiernach in der Zwölfapl. nicht vor und wird um so weniger anzuerkennen sein, als der Verfasser, der seine volltönigen Vollkommenheitslehren hintendrein selbst bedenklich gefunden zu haben scheint, nach dem förmlichen Schluß des Todesweges noch einen Nachtrag bringt, in welchem die vorausgeschickten hohen Anforderungen dadurch abgeschwächt werden, daß man thun soll, was man könne, wenn man das ganze (zur Vollkommenheit dienende) Joch des Herrn zu tragen nicht im Stande sei (VI, 2). Um so bedeutender erscheint es, daß in der ap. Ro. von den oben unterschiedenen fünf Abschnitten der zweite (die Vollkommenheitssprüche) und der fünfte (die Sprüche nach den sieben Ansprachen) fehlen und daß die drei übrigen Abschnitte, wie schon oben gezeigt wurde, namentlich wenn auch der letzte derselben die aus der Zwölfap. herüberzunehmende Ueberschrift, die ihm ursprünglich angehört haben dürfte, zurückerhält¹⁾, von selbst ein

1) Fand der Verfasser der Zwölfapl. in seiner Quelle die 3 in der Ro. benutzten Abschnitte mit je einer Ueberschrift vor, so begreift es sich leicht, daß er nach Erweiterung der Vorlage zu 3 Haupttheilen mit 5 Abschnitten die vorgefundenen 3 Ueberschriften

übersichtliches, wohlgeordnetes und in sich abgeschlossenes Ganzes bilden. Im Anfange — unter der Ueberschrift: „Der Weg des Lebens einerseits ist dieser“ — die vier Sprüche der Gottes- und Nächstenliebe, im Schlußabschnitte — nach den Worten: „Ein zweites Geheiß der Belehrung aber ist“ — die sieben kunstvoll aufgebauten Ansprachen, in welchen die Pflichten der Nächsten- und Gottesliebe ihre ausführlichste Darstellung erhalten, und dazwischen — mit der Einleitung: „Zu diesen Worten aber ist die Belehrung diese“ — ein Abschnitt¹⁾, welcher sich eben so unmittelbar und offenkundig an den Anfangsabschnitt anschließt, wie er den Grundriß zu den weiteren Ausführungen des Schlußabschnittes bildet: — sollte ein solches Zusammentreffen und innerstes Zusammenstimmen der in der Ro. überlieferten Texte einer älteren Schrift Zufall, sollte es ein Meisterstück des sonst so ungeschickten Verfassers der Ro. sein, der hier mit glücklichem Griff aus seiner Vorlage die den Zusammenschluß der Theile störenden Abschnitte ausgeschieden hätte? Oder ist es nicht vielmehr unvergleichlich wahrscheinlicher, daß dieser Zusammenschluß der Theile von dritter Hand herrührt und schon einer Quelle eigen war, aus welcher die Verfasser der Zwölfapl. und der Ro. beiderseits geschöpft haben? —

den 3 Haupttheilen vorsetzte und somit die zweite und dritte von ihren ursprünglichen Stellen entfernte.

1) Derselbe ist in der Ro. lückenhaft mitgetheilt und aus der Zwölfapl. zu ergänzen, da wenigstens das Verbot des Diebstahls zwischen dem des Ehebruches und dem des falschen Zeugnisses ursprünglich kaum gefehlt hat. — Im Umfange wachsen die 3 Abschnitte übrigens ähnlich an (mit 3—4, 10—11 und 35—37 Druckzeilen), wie die 3 Haupttheile der Zwölfapl. (s. o.).

3. Betrachten wir noch den in der Zwölfap. mitgetheilten Todesweg, so zeigt diese Darstellung im Vergleich mit der in der Zwölfap. vorausgehenden Schilderung des Lebensweges folgende Eigenthümlichkeiten:

a) Dem Anfange des Lebensweges: „Erstens, du sollst lieben den Gott, der dich gemacht hat; zweitens, — deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst“ u. s. w. (I, 2) stehen im Todeswege die Worte gegenüber: „(Der Weg des Todes aber ist dieser:) Zu allererst, er ist schlimm und Fluches voll“ (V, 1). Wie schon Bryennios¹⁾ bemerkt hat, erinnert dieser Text an Hermas Mand. VI. und verdankt demnach seine jetzige Gestalt vielleicht erst dem Verfasser der Zwölfap. Im Sittenspiegel (Const. Ap. VII, 18) lauten die entsprechenden Worte: „Der Weg des Todes aber ist an schlimmen Handlungen erkennbar: denn auf demselben findet man . . .“, womit recht wohl der ursprüngliche Anfang des Todesweges wiedergegeben sein könnte. Wie sich dies aber auch verhalten mag, jedenfalls ist der vorliegende Text so allgemeinen Inhalts, daß die sich anschließende Aufzählung einzelner Sünden wie Mord, Ehebruch, Gier, Hurerei, Diebstahl u. s. w. dazu in ähnlicher Weise die nähere Auslegung bildet, wie im Lebenswege die auf die beiden Liebesgebote folgenden Texte als zugehörige Auslegung betrachtet sein wollen.

b) Obschon das eben Gesagte bereits darauf schließen läßt, daß die Darstellung des Todesweges nach dem Plane ihres Verfassers derjenigen des Lebensweges

1) A. a. O. S. 23.

durch ihre Anlage und Gliederung einigermaßen entsprechen soll, wie dies ja auch in der Natur der Sache liegt, weicht die Schilderung des Todesweges von der des Lebensweges in der Zwölfapl. doch sofort dadurch erheblich ab, daß alle Vollkommenheitsprüche des zweiten Haupttheiles unberücksichtigt bleiben. Nun wäre aber ein Versuch, die jenen Sprüchen entgegengesetzten Erscheinungen des Todesweges aufzuzählen, keineswegs unausführbar oder auch nur schwierig gewesen; schon die drei Worte: „Feindseligkeit, Rachsucht und Wucher“ hätten genügt, um den Inhalt des zweiten Haupttheils durch die gegentheilige Schilderung der Hauptsache nach in's Gedächtnis zurückzurufen. Der vorliegende Text führt deshalb von selbst auf die obige Vermuthung zurück, daß jene Vollkommenheitsprüche des zweiten Haupttheiles nicht schon zur ursprünglichen Darstellung der zwei Wege des Lebens und des Todes gehören, und verräth zugleich, daß der Verfasser der Zwölfapl. es unterlassen hat, nach Einschaltung des zweiten Haupttheils auch mit dem Wortlaute des Todesweges die entsprechende Erweiterung vorzunehmen.

c) Die im Todeswege aufgezählten Sünden spiegeln den Inhalt des dritten Haupttheiles in der Weise ab, daß die den dritten Haupttheil beginnende Uebersicht der Verbote und Gebote mit den alsbald nachfolgenden sechs Ansprachen hier in Eins zusammenfließt und nur jene letzten in der Ro. fehlenden Sätze, welche in der Zwölfapl. noch als fünfter Abschnitt des Lebensweges folgen, nicht berücksichtigt sind. Insbesondere wachsen die Wortgruppen parallel der vorletzten und letzten Ansprache bis zur Ueberfülle

an. Steht der ersten Ansprache des Lebensweges auf der Seite des Todesweges allein der Mord gegenüber und entsprechen der folgenden (aus zweien in eine zusammengezogenen) Ansprache die Sünden des Ehebruches, der Gier und der Hurerei, so kommen auf die beiden nächsten Ansprachen nach der Ordnung des vorliegenden Textes Diebstahl, Götzendienst, Zauberei, Giftmischerei und Raub, auf die vorletzte Ansprache aber die falschen Zeugnisse, die Heucheleien, die Doppelherzigkeit, der Betrug, die Ueberhebung, die Bosheit, die Anmaßung, die Habsucht, die schändliche Rede, die Eifersucht, die Frechheit, der Hochmuth und die Hoffahrt und auf die letzte Ansprache eine noch größere Zahl von Prädikaten, nämlich die Anklagen: „Verfolger der Guten, hassend Wahrheit, liebend Lüge, nicht erkennend den Lohn der Gerechtigkeit, nicht anhängend dem Guten noch auch dem gerechten Gerichte, achtsam nicht auf das Gute, sondern auf das Schlimme, von denen weitab ist Sanftmuth und Geduld, Eitles liebend, jagend nach Belohnung; — nicht bemitleidend den Armen, sich nicht anstrengend wegen eines Belasteten, nicht erkennend den, der sie gemacht hat, (Mörder von Kindern, Zerstörer des Gebildes Gottes,) sich abwendend vom Bedürftigen, unterdrückend den Bedrängten, der Reichen Beistände, der Armen ungerechte Richter, mit allen Sünden behaftet.“ — Von Wortkargheit oder Beschleunigung des Schlusses kann hier keine Rede sein. Fast sämtliche Anklagen (3 mal 7 und 1 an Zahl), mit welchen der Finsternisweg des Barnabasbriefes (XX, 2) schließt, sind beibehalten worden, selbst die beiden Anklagen „Mörder von Kindern, Zerstörer des Gebildes Got-

te s" nicht ausgenommen, obſchon dieſelben in der Zwölfapł. nach II, 2 zum Diebſtahlsverbote (vermuthlich als Mittel der Erbschleicherei) gehören und mithin nicht der letzten, ſondern der vierten Ausſprache gegenüber zu ſtellen waren. Gleichwohl ſchließt die Darſtellung des Todesweges, ohne auf die Sätze, welche in der Zwölfapł. auf die ſechs Ausſprachen noch folgen, — es ſind die Sätze von der gottesfürchtigen Kindererziehung und gegenseitigen Achtung der Herren und Knechte aus Gottesfurcht ſowie von der ſchuldigen Treue und Aufrichtigkeit gegen Gott — irgend Bezug zu nehmen: wohl ein deutliches Anzeichen, daß auch dieſe Sätze nicht ſchon von Anfang an in der Darſtellung der zwei Wege geſtanden, ſondern gleich den ebenfalls im Todeswege unberückſichtigt gebliebenen Vollkommenheitsſprüchen des zweiten Haupttheiles der Zwölfapł. erſt vom Verfaſſer der letzteren hinzugefügt worden ſind. Schwierig wenigſtens wäre es nicht geweſen, wie den dritten und vierten, ſo auch den fünften Abſchnitt des Lebensweges bei der Beſchreibung des Todesweges mit in Erinnerung zu bringen: ſchon Worte wie ἀποβία θεοῦ oder ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς φόβον θεοῦ hätten hierzu genügt. Oder vielmehr: es wäre nur nöthig geweſen, eben dieſe Worte, welche der Finſternisweg des Barnabasbriefes enthält, gleich faſt allen anderen Beſtandtheilen dieſer Vorlage bei der Bearbeitung des Todesweges beizubehalten, wenn dieſe Bearbeitung in der That erſt vom Verfaſſer der Zwölfapł. ſtammt. Setzen wir dagegen eine ältere Darſtellung der zwei Wege voraus, aus welcher die vorliegende Schilderung des Todesweges unmittelbar gefloſſen iſt und in welcher die Beſchreibung des Lebensweges ſich auf die

schon oben als eng zusammengehörig dargethanen drei Abschnitte beschränkte, so erweist sich der in Rede stehende Text des Todesweges als eine planmäßig angelegte Gegenüberstellung und Recapitulation, bei deren Ausarbeitung der mittlere Abschnitt des Lebensweges wegen seines vorherrschend negativen Inhalts zweckmäßig als nächste Grundlage diente, daneben aber nicht bloß die sieben Ansprachen, sondern (vgl. den Satz: „nicht erkennend den, der sie gemacht hat“) auch die Textworte des ersten Abschnittes gelegentlich berücksichtigt wurden.

Alle Wahrscheinlichkeit spricht mithin dafür, daß die Darstellung der zwei Wege in der Zwölfapl. keine Originalarbeit, sondern die Erweiterung einer älteren Schrift über denselben Gegenstand ist, in welcher auf die zwei Hauptgebote der Liebe sofort die dekalog-ähnliche Auslegung folgte und die sieben Ansprachen den Schlußabschnitt des Lebensweges bildeten. Wenn nun Clemens von Alexandrien an der vielgenannten Stelle Strom. I, 20 einen Satz anführt, welcher diesen sieben Ansprachen entnommen ist, so kann man zunächst schwanken, ob hierbei an die Zwölfapl. oder an ihre Quelle gedacht werden solle; da uns jener Satz indeß zugleich als ein Ausspruch „der Schrift“ bezeichnet wird, so läßt sich hierin nicht wohl ein Zeugnis für die jüngere Zwölfapl., sondern vielmehr nur ein solches für die ältere verloren gegangene Schrift finden, deren Entstehungszeit sofort den Tagen des Clemens von Alexandrien möglichst weit vorausliegend anzusetzen ist.

Doch noch mehr. Der Verfasser der Zwölfapl. schreibt seine Vorlage fast unverändert ab und schaltet

zwar zwei Abschnitte in dieselbe ein, entlehnt aber auch diese größtentheils wörtlich drei andern Schriften, nämlich seinem Evangelium (vgl. Matth. V, 39 ff. u. Luc. VI, 27 ff.) und dem Pastor Hermae (Mand. II, 4—6) einentheils (I, 3—5) und dem Barnabasbriefe (XIX, 5, 7, 2 und 12) ¹⁾ anderntheils (IV, 9—14). Darf von

1) Die von der Zwölfapl. hier gewagte Verbindung der zwei Sätze des Barnabasbriefes: „Verlasse nicht die Gebote des Herrn“, sondern „bewahre, was du (an Offenbarungslehren, vgl. Deut. IV, 2 ff.) empfangen hast, ohne Hinzufügung und ohne Hingnahme“, erscheint auf den ersten Blick widersinnig, da Glaubensstreue und Gebotsübertretung in der Wirklichkeit des Lebens einander keineswegs ausschließen, läßt sich jedoch ertragen, wenn man den Sinn des ersten Satzes im Hinblick auf den zweiten verallgemeinert und so wendet, daß die Gebote des Herrn zunächst in ihrer Eigenschaft als Offenbarungslehren (nicht als Sittenvorschriften) betrachtet werden. Daß aber im Uebrigen die Lichtweg-Sprüche des Barnabasbriefes in der Zwölfapl. allerdings eine faßlichere Reihenfolge aufweisen, als sie im Barnabasbriefe selbst haben, ergiebt doch wohl keinen Beweis gegen die Priorität des letzteren (s. o. S. 399 f.), da diesem anscheinend (vgl. I, 4) eine erfolgreiche Unterrichtsübung vorausliegt, in welcher jene Sätze am ehesten ihr sentenziöses Gepräge erhalten konnten und in welcher sie ursprünglich vom Verfasser des Barnabasbriefes auch in einer besseren, sachgemäßeren Gruppierung gebraucht worden sein werden. Jene mündliche Lehrübung ist eine elementare gewesen; erst brieflich unternimmt es der Verfasser, zum mündlich mitgetheilten Unterricht eine vollkommene Einsicht sowohl bezüglich der Glaubenswahrheiten als auch bezüglich der Sittenlehren hinzuzufügen (I, 5; XVIII, 1). In ersterer Hinsicht nun geschieht dies durch Darlegung der alttestamentlichen Weissagungen und Vorbilder, welche den (anti-ebionitischen) Glaubenslehren zur Bestätigung dienen und den Lesern in solcher Beleuchtung noch neu sind. In letzterer Hinsicht aber macht der Verfasser den Versuch, eine eben dieser Darstellung entsprechende Uebersicht der Moralvorschriften zu liefern, — ein Versuch, welcher vom antijudaistischen Standpunkte unternommen und des=

einem solchen Schriftsteller wohl angenommen werden, daß er nach einem derartigen unselbständigen Aufange

halb vom mosaischen Dekalog und der diesem sich anschließenden Lehrordnung des Evangeliums (Matth. 5, 21—48; 15, 19; 19, 18 f.) absehend allerdings die Kräfte des Verfassers weit überstieg. — Es sollen zwei entgegengesetzte Lebenswege beschrieben werden: schon über die zu wählenden Bezeichnungen kommt der Verfasser mit sich selbst nicht in's Reine; er redet I, 4 vom Wege der Gerechtigkeit (vgl. 2. Petr. 2, 21), IV, 10 von den Werken des bösen Weges, V, 4 vom Wege der Gerechtigkeit und vom Wege der Finsternis, XVIII, 1 vom Wege des Lichtes und vom Wege der Finsternis, XIX, 1 u. 3 vom Wege des Lichtes und vom Wege des Todes, XX, 1 vom Wege des Schwarzen. — Beide Wege lassen sich in je 4 Abschnitte zerlegen. Wie schon Funk, v. S. 394 u. 400, geltend macht, scheinen im Lichtwege die Gebote der Gottes- und Nächstenliebe (XIX, 2 u. 5) den Anfang eines ersten und eines zweiten Abschnittes zu kennzeichnen; ebenso dürfte die Vorschrift, sich selbst nach Kräften rein zu halten (XIX, 8) einen dritten Abschnitt einleiten und mit der allgemeinen Aufforderung, alle Offenbarungslehren treu zu bewahren (XIX, 11), ein vierter oder Schlußabschnitt beginnen. Im Finsterniswege hinwieder bildet die mit „Gözendienst“ eingeleitete und mit „Mangel an Gottesfurcht“ schließende Sündenreihe (XX, 1) einen ersten, auch grammatisch abgeordneten Abschnitt, auf welchen dann noch drei Heptaden von Anklagen (Verfolger der Guten u. s. w., wachsam nicht zur Gottesfurcht u. s. w., nicht erkennend den, der sie gemacht, u. s. w.) und das allgemeine Schlußwort: „mit allen Sünden behaftet“ folgen. Aber von strenger Ordnung der Darstellung ist bei all dem nichts zu entdecken. — Bei Besprechung der alttestamentlichen Speiseverbote hat der Verfasser drei Klassen von Sündern unterschieden, die Klasse der immerdar und gänzlich Gottlosen, die Klasse der gottvergessenen Scheinfrommen und die Klasse der Raubgierigen, und in dieser Unterscheidung eine vollkommenere Einsicht erblickt (X, 1—5, 9 f.). Es scheint, als versuche er nun, bei jedem Abschnitte der zwei Wege eben diese Unterscheidung durchzuführen und regelmäßig gleichsam die Worte einzuschärfen: „1. sei treu gegen Gott, 2. (oder 3.) sei aufrichtig fromm und 3. (oder 2.) sei

die noch folgende größere Hälfte seiner Arbeit völlig oder auch nur vorwiegend selbständig geschaffen habe?

unsträflisch und mildherzig!" Wenigstens finden sich in ersten Abschnitte (des Lichtweges) — nach Mittheilung des Hauptgebotes (der Gottesliebe) und einer zusätzlichen Mahnung (in den Begierden des Herzens einfach und im Eifer des Geistes reich zu sein) — die Sätze: „Du sollst nicht anhängen denjenigen, die auf dem Todeswege wandeln (vgl. X, 5), sollst hassen alle Heuchelei, sollst nicht annehmen einen schlimmen Rath gegen deinen Nächsten“; im zweiten Abschnitt — ebenfalls nach Mittheilung des Hauptgebotes (der Nächstenliebe) und einer zusätzlichen Warnung (vor Kindesmord) —: „Nicht mögest du deine Hand zurückziehen von deinem Sohne oder von deiner Tochter, sondern von Jugend auf sollst du sie lehren die Furcht des Herrn, nicht werde ein habgieriger Mensch, du sollst nicht doppelzünftig und nicht doppelzüngig sein“; im dritten Abschnitt — wiederum nach Mittheilung des Hauptgebotes (der Enthaltbarkeit) und einer zusätzlichen Mahnung (nicht eigennützig zu werden) —: „Du sollst lieben wie deinen Augapfel jeden, welcher zu dir des Herrn Wort redet, sollst gedenken des Gerichtstages bei Nacht und bei Tage, sollst dich nicht besinnen zum Geben“; im vierten Abschnitt: „Du sollst bewahren, was du empfangen hast, sollst friedfertig sein, sollst nicht nahen zum Gebet mit bösem Bewußtsein.“ Im fünften Abschnitte (dem ersten des Finsternisweges) begegnen wir noch den Worten: „Gözendienst, Heuchelei, Raub“; im sechsten: „Verfolger der Guten, Wahrheit hassend, Lügen liebend, nicht achtend einer Wittwe oder Waise“; im siebenten: „Wachsam nicht zur Gottesfurcht, sondern zum Schlimmen, nicht bemitleidend den Armen“; und im achten: „Nicht erkennend den, der sie gemacht, unterdrückend den Bedrängten.“ — Hiernach ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß der Verfasser darauf ausging, bei jedem der beabsichtigten acht Abschnitte sowohl vor vollendeter Gottlosigkeit als auch vor heuchlerischer Frömmigkeit und vor mitleidloser Raubgier (oder, im Finsterniswege, wenigstens vor Gottlosigkeit und Raubgier) eine Warnung anzubringen. Daß ihm nun die Durchführung dieses ohnehin mißlichen Vorhabens nicht aufs Beste geglückt ist, zumal ihm wohl auch daran lag, keinen von den Lieblingsprüchen, welche ihm von seiner mündlichen Lehrthätigkeit her

Oder ist es nicht vielmehr von vornherein wahrscheinlich, daß er auch hier eine ältere Schrift zu Grunde gelegt und dieselbe ähnlich, wie er mit den zwei Wegen gethan, theils gekürzt, theils durch Einschaltungen erweitert habe? Betrachten wir, was dieser Vermuthung etwa zur Bestätigung dienen kann.

3.

Die anti-e bionitische Verordnung.

1. Die zweite Hälfte der Zwölfap. behandelt zunächst folgende Gegenstände:

1) die Art zu taufen (VII) sowie wöchentlich zu fasten und täglich zu beten (VIII),

2) die eucharistischen Gebete (IX und X) sowie die eucharistische und exhomologetische Sonntagsfeier (XIV) und

wichtig scheinen und geläufig sein mochten, unerwähnt zu lassen, steht allerdings außer Zweifel. Aber es begreift sich doch auch, daß bei solchem Vorgehen dieselben Pflichten wiederholt berührt werden und insbesondere die Pflicht der Mildherzigkeit sowie der Mildthätigkeit mehrmals zur Sprache kommt, ohne daß daraus eine Nothigung entsteht, die von einem anderen Standpunkte ausgehende und ihre Aussprüche nach andern Gesichtspunkten verbindende Darstellung der Wege des Lebens und des Todes (oder auch die Zwölfap. selbst) hier als Quelle des Barnabasbriefes anzunehmen. Anderntheils aber ist diese letztere Annahme dadurch ausgeschlossen, daß die Darstellung des Todesweges in der Zwölfap. augenscheinlich vom Finsterniswege des Barnabasbriefes abhängt (s. o.), wie denn auch, um Anderes zu übergehen, die Vorschrift der Zwölfap. (II, 7), unter Umständen den Nächsten mehr zu lieben als die eigene Seele, sich am leichtesten aus einer Bezugnahme auf den Barnabasbrief (XX, 5) erklärt, in welchem der allgemeine Satz, den Nächsten in solchem Grade zu lieben, nach I, 4 und IV, 6 nicht befremdet.

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3) die Bestellung von Episkopen und Diakonen und die Werthschätzung derselben (XV, 1 u. 2).

Diese drei Haupttheile bilden ein wohlgeordnetes und in sich abgeschlossenes Ganzes, das sich aus der Absicht, die Grundbedingungen eines gedeihlichen Gemeindelebens neu einzuschärfen, verstehen und begreifen läßt. Aber die Zwölfapl. schaltet zwischen die Vorschriften über die eucharistischen Gebete einerseits und über die eucharistische und exhomologetische Sonntagsfeier andererseits noch eine beträchtliche Reihe eingehender Anweisungen ein, nämlich

a) über die als „Apostel“ bezeichneten Wanderprediger, die schon als Lügenpropheten gelten sollen, wenn sie an einem Orte länger als höchstens zwei Tage bleiben oder bei der Weiterreise Geld verlangen (XI, 3—6),

b) über die im Geiste redenden Propheten, die nicht vorwiegend zu beurtheilen, sondern daran als wahre Propheten zu erkennen seien, daß sie das Benehmen des Herrn (*τοὺς τρόπους Κυρίου*) an sich haben, von der im Geiste bestellten Mahlzeit nicht essen, die verkündete Wahrheit auch selbst beobachten und im Geiste nicht für sich selbst, sondern höchstens für andere Bedürftige Geld oder andere Dinge fordern (XI, 7—12),

c) über die durchreisenden Glaubensgenossen, welche man nöthigenfalls zwei oder drei Tage beherbergen und, wenn sie am Ort sich niederlassen wollen, um als Handwerker oder durch andere Arbeit sich ihr Brod zu verdienen, hierbei unterstützen, im Falle der Arbeitscheu aber meiden solle (XII), und

d) über den Unterhalt, dessen jeder wahre Prophet, welcher sich in einer Gemeinde niederlassen wolle,

sowie jeder wahre Lehrer würdig sei, und welcher sich, da diese Propheten die Hohenpriester der Gemeinden seien, über alle Erstlinge der Kelter und Tenne sowie der Rinder- und Schafherden mit Einschluß des Anbruches jedes frischen Teiges und neugeöffneten Wein- oder Delgefäßes erstrecke, wogegen vom Geld und von der Bekleidung und von jedem sonstigen Erwerb die Erstlinge nach freiem Ermessen entrichtet werden dürfen (XIII).

Augenscheinlich liegt hier eine bedeutende Unterbrechung des Zusammenhanges vor ¹⁾, die sich am leichtesten durch die Annahme erklärt, daß der Verfasser der Zwölfapl. auch hier ein älteres Schriftstück vor sich gehabt und ähnlich, wie er es mit der älteren Darstellung der zwei Wege gethan, durch eine größere Einschaltung ohne Schonung des Zusammenhanges erweitert hat ²⁾.

1) Auch bei Bryennios, a. a. O. σελ. ζγ', lautet die kurze Inhaltsangabe bereits so, daß die Unterbrechung in die Augen springt. Derselbe unterscheidet nämlich im Ganzen vier Stücke, von welchen das erste (I—VI) die zwei Wege enthalte, das zweite (VII—X und XIV) vom göttlichen Dienst handele, d. i. von der Taufe, dem Fasten, dem Gebet, der Eucharistie und der Art, den Tag des Herrn zu feiern, das dritte (XI—XIII und XV) sich über die Apostel, Propheten und Lehrer u. s. w. verbreite und das vierte (XVI) die Parusie des Herrn betreffe.

2) Auffällig ist zugleich der Hinweis *κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν*, welcher sowohl im ersten, dem Lebenswege eingeschalteten, Abschnitte (I, 5) als auch hier (XIII, 5 u. 7) sich findet; noch bemerkenswerther aber wohl, daß, während jener Abschnitt mit einer nur stillschweigenden Benutzung des Evangeliums beginnt (I, 3—5), hier bald anfangs (XI, 3) ausdrücklich auf das Evangelium Bezug genommen wird. Dieser ausdrücklichen Bezugnahme begegnen wir dann noch in R. XV, 3 u. 4, einem anscheinend ebenfalls

2. Nachdem der Verfasser die als zuverlässig erwiesenen Propheten für die neutestamentlichen Hohenpriester der Gemeinden erklärt und ihnen als solchen den Bezug der gesetzlichen Erstlingsgaben seitens der Gemeinde, in welcher sie ihren Wohnsitz gewählt haben, zuerkannt hat, wie er denselben auch schon vorher (X, 7) das Vorrecht eingeräumt, die eucharistischen Gebete so lang, als sie wollten, auszudehnen, ließ sich eine Belehrung darüber wohl begreiflich finden, was die Gemeinden thun sollten, um derartige prophetische Hohenpriester und Liturgen stets zu besitzen. Eifriges Bemühen, den etwa ansässigen Propheten an seinen Wirkungskreis zu fesseln sowie im Bedürfnisfalle einen auswärtigen oder durchreisenden Propheten zur Uebersiedlung oder Niederlassung zu gewinnen oder auch in der eigenen Mitte die erwachenden Prophetengaben nicht zu vernachlässigen (vgl. 1. Cor. 14, 1 ff.), hätte ohne Widerspruch mit dem Zuvorgesagten empfohlen werden können. Dagegen einen anderweitigen Ersatz zu schaffen und Episkopen und Diakonen zu bestellen, weil auch sie den Dienst der Propheten und Lehrer leisteten (XV, 1), ist eine überraschende Aufforderung die sich mit den vorausgegangenen Anweisungen bezüg-

eingeschobenen Texte, sowie schon VIII, 2, wo der ursprüngliche Wortlaut durch den Hinweis auf das Evangelium und außerdem durch die mitgetheilte Doxologie erweitert sein mag. Vom sechszehnten Kapitel endlich, dessen eschatologische Angaben sich auf irgend ein Evangelium stützen, dürfte zwar die Ermahnung zur Wachsamkeit (als Schlußwort) schon in der benutzten Vorlage gestanden haben, der zweite Vers dagegen und alles noch Folgende (vgl. hierzu auch Barn. ep. IV, 9 u. 10) wieder von unserem Autor stammen.

lich der Prüfung und des Unterhaltes der Propheten nicht wohl verträgt. Denn jene Anweisungen setzen offenbar voraus, daß die Gemeinden noch nach wie vor Gelegenheit hatten, wahre und erprobte Propheten zur Niederlassung in ihrer Mitte zu bewegen. Wenigstens eine Zwischenbemerkung, wie die XIII, 4 bezüglich der Erstlingsgaben gemachte: „wenn ihr keinen Propheten habt“ oder findet, wäre deshalb bei der Vorschrift, Episkopen und Diakonen zu bestellen, sehr am Platze gewesen. Daß gleichwohl jede derartige Einschränkung fehlt und lediglich die Beschaffung von Ersatzpersonen für die Propheten und Lehrer vorgeschrieben wird, wie wenn schon früher davon die Rede gewesen wäre, welcher empfindlicher und nicht zu beseitigender Mangel an Propheten und Lehrern herrsche ¹⁾, ist kaum anders als

1) Der betreffende Text lautet, mit Zwischenbemerkungen über den vermuthlichen Sinn der einzelnen Worte, vollständig: *Χειροτονήσατε* (d. i. Bestellet durch Handausstreckung der wählenden Gemeinde und der ordinierenden Liturgen) *οὖν* (da dies nach dem Vorherbemerkten nöthig ist) *ἐαυτοῖς* (für euren Bedarf) *ἐπισκόπους* (Vorsteher im Besitze der apostolischen Vollgewalt, je nach der Größe der Gemeinde mit oder ohne priesterliche Altargehilfen) *καὶ διακόνους* (und Begleiter des Bischofs, welche ihn namentlich im Unterrichte der Neulinge wie in der Aufsichtsführung und Armenpflege unterstützen) *ἀγίους Κυρίου, ἀνδρας πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους· ὑμῶν γὰρ* (denn euch, die ihr wegen der Nähe Palästina's bisher zwar nur zugewanderte judenchristliche, namentlich in die jerusalemmer Ueberlieferung, Kirchenordnung und Gebets- und Lehrweise eingeweihte und von dort her bevollmächtigte Männer — vgl. Apg. 15, 24 — mit prophetischer Begabung oder palästinensischer Lehrgeschicklichkeit zu Vorgesetzten hattet, jetzt aber infolge des Niederganges der dortigen Gemeinden und der Zerstörung der heiligen Stadt solche Männer nicht leicht mehr erhaltet, wegen eurer vorwiegend heid-

durch die Voraussetzung eines älteren Textes zu verstehen, welchen der Verfasser der Zwölfapł. ungeachtet der vorausgegangenen größeren Einschaltung über die Wanderprediger und Propheten hier unverändert beibehalten hat und in welchem schon vorher, vermuthlich in der Einleitung, eine für die Gemeinden verhängnisvolle Verminderung der Propheten und Lehrer erwähnt worden war. Jedenfalls bereitet die Annahme keine geschichtlichen Schwierigkeiten, daß, als die in den Aposteltagen üblichen Auswanderungen palästinensischer Propheten und Lehrer nach den auswärtigen Gemeinden (vgl. Apg. 11, 27; 13, 1 f.; 15, 32; Jac. 3, 1) mehr und mehr aufhörten, also besonders nach dem Falle Jerusalems, manche Grenzgemeinden, — welche bis dahin wegen der Nähe Palästina's ihre kirchlichen Vorsteher mit Leichtigkeit aus der Zahl solcher Propheten und Lehrer erhalten hatten, nun aber andauernd verwaisten — schließlich zuwandernde Abkömmlinge des auserwählten Volkes

nischen Abkunft aber auch eher entbehren könnte, als die noch vorwiegend judenchristlichen Gemeinden, welchen Männer mit bloß griechischer Geistesbildung für ihre bisherigen Propheten und Lehrer keinen vollen Ersatz leisten würden, euch) *λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ* (leisten auch sie, die heidenchristlichen Vorgesetzten, die nicht mehr durch israelitische, sondern durch griechische Rangbezeichnungen unterschieden werden, den Dienst der „Propheten und Lehrer“) *τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων*. *Μὴ οὖν ὑπερβῆτε αὐτούς*. (Sehet sie also nicht für gering an, weil sie ja von keiner anderen Herkunft seien, als ihr selbst:) *αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν* (denn sie, eben diese, gereichen euch zur Ehre, da sie euch angehören und doch hochgeehrt sind als Amtsgenossen der dem auserwählten Volke entstammenden Propheten und Lehrer, oder kürzer: sind sie es ja doch, welche aus eurer Zahl der Ehre neben den Propheten und Lehrern theilhaft sind,) *οἱ τετιμημένοι ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων*.

sich als Lehrer gefallen ließen, die, sei es aus Unkenntnis, sei es aus ebionitisierender Anhänglichkeit an die vaterländischen Gewohnheiten, a) die christliche Taufform verabsäumten, dafür aber b) und c) die pharisäischen Fasten- und Gebetsübungen pflegten, d) auch wohl auf ihre Art eucharistische Gebete verrichteten und dabei e) die Sonntagsfeier hintansetzten, und daß durch alles dieses irgend welche Amtsnachfolger der Apostel schon frühzeitig zu einer Verordnung veranlaßt wurden, in welcher nach einer einleitenden Bemerkung über die herrschende Nothlage eben diese Vorschriften liturgischen und kirchenrechtlichen Inhalts zu finden waren, die sich aus dem Wortlaut der Zwölfapl. von selbst noch zu einem besonderen Ganzen zusammenzufügen scheinen ¹⁾).

3. Unmittelbar vor der längeren Einschaltung über die Wanderprediger und Propheten findet sich der Text: „Wer nun kommt und euch dies alles, das vorstehend

1) Beginnend mit dem Hinweise auf die seit dem Falle der hl. Stadt eingetretene Verminderung der (palästinenfischen) „Propheten und Lehrer“ und die hieraus entstandene langjährige Verwaisung mancher Gemeinden, die nun bereits über Dinge wie Taufe und Eucharistie in Unsicherheit wären oder durch zuwandernde berufslose Lehrer in Unsicherheit versetzt würden, konnte jene Verordnung (eines Konvents kirchlicher Vorgesetzter, vgl. Apl. 15, 1 ff.) recht wohl zuerst *περὶ (μὲν) τοῦ βαπτισματος* und *περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας* mit Einschluß der Vorschriften über Fasten und Beten und Sonntagsfeier (VII bis X u. XIV) und sodann noch über die Bestellung von Episkopen und Diakonen und deren Hochachtung (XV, 1 u. 2) sich äußern, um mit einer allgemeinen Ermahnung zur Wachsamkeit (XVI, 1) zu schließen: zur Wiederherstellung dieser vermuthlichen Vorlage der Zwölfapl. würde es jedoch noch einer eingehenderen Untersuchung bedürfen, da, abgesehen von kleineren Einzelheiten, besonders die eucharistischen Gebete (s. w. u.) den Verdacht einer bedeutenden Kürzung und Umstellung erwecken.

Gesagte, lehrt, den nehmet auf; wenn er, der Lehrende, jedoch selbst verkehrt ist und eine andere Lehre lehrt zur Auflösung, so höret ihn nicht an: — jedoch zur Hinzufügung von Gerechtigkeit und Erkenntnis des Herrn, nehmet ihn auf wie den Herrn“¹⁾. Das letztere Sätzchen müßte vollständiger heißen: „wenn er jedoch eine andere Lehre zwar vorträgt, indes eine solche, daß Gerechtigkeit und Erkenntnis des Herrn dadurch vermehrt wird, so nehmet ihn auf wie den Herrn.“ Man bemerkt leicht, daß hiermit das in den ersten beiden Sätzen Ausgesprochene mit einer nicht gerade glücklichen Wendung dahin berichtigt werden soll, daß nicht zwei, sondern drei Fälle möglich sind und nicht bloß im ersten, sondern auch in dem beigefügten dritten Falle die Aufnahme des Lehrers Pflicht ist. Daß der Verfasser der Zwölfapl. dabei einen fremden Text vor sich gehabt und in der bezeichneten Weise zu verbessern versucht hat, wird sich kaum verkennen lassen, da die Annahme, ein und derselbe Autor habe nach seinem eigenen Plane zuerst jede abweichende Lehre geächtet, schon im nächsten Satze aber seine Weisung selbst entkräftet, indem der Ausdruck, ein Mehrer der Gerechtigkeit und Gotteserkenntnis zu sein, ja sehr leicht von jedem anders denkenden Lehrer erhoben werden konnte, denn doch wohl zu gewagt wäre. Aber was könnte den Verfasser der Zwölfapl. zu dieser Textänderung veranlaßt haben?

1) “Ὅς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεὶς διδάσκῃ ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γινῶσιν Κύριον, δέξασθε αὐτόν ὡς Κύριον. XI, 1 u. 2.

Wohl nichts anderes, als daß er selbst eine andere Lehre vortrug, als in seiner Vorlage vorgezeichnet war, dabei sich jedoch als einen Mehrer der Gerechtigkeit und Gotteserkenntnis betrachtete. Wie dieses Letztere zu verstehen sei, zeigen einigermaßen schon die *Z u s ä t z e*, welche der Verfasser zu seinen beiden Vorlagen macht. Die volltönigen Vollkommenheitsgebote (I, 3—5), die in einem Nachtrage zu den zwei Wegen (VI, 1—3) wieder abgeschwächt werden müssen, um nicht eher abzuschrecken als anzulocken ¹⁾, die Forderung der Oeffentlichkeit des Sündenbekenntnisses, welche IV, 14 zum Texte des Barnabasbriefes (XIX, 12) hinzugefügt wird, die dem Vater unser angehängte (hier ebionitisch aufzufassende?) Doro-logie „denn dein ist die Macht und die Herrlichkeit in die Ewigkeiten“ (VIII, 2), das entschiedene Vorgehen gegen gewinnstüchtige Wanderprediger und Propheten (XI, 6, 9, 12) ²⁾ sowie gegen arbeitscheue Glaubens-

1) Die Bemerkung: „Aber auch hierüber bleibt doch wohl gesagt: Es schenke dein Almosen in deine Hände, bis du erkannt hast, wem du gibst“ (I, 6), gehört wohl nicht hierher, da sie als Einwand eines Glossators anzusehen sein dürfte.

2) Auf Ehelosigkeit der Propheten scheint der Verfasser jedoch nicht dringen, vielmehr ihnen selbst mehrmalige Verheirathung nachsehen zu wollen: ermahnt er doch XI, 11 die Gemeinden, Gott das Gericht zu überlassen, wenn ein erprobter Prophet εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας (d. h. wohl, in Bezug auf die Ehe, die etwas Weltliches und doch in der Kirche nach Ephes. 5, 32 etwas Geheimnisvolles ist), für seine Person starke Dinge leistet (ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, nämlich durch Verheirathung und Wiederverheirathung, nicht durch Enthalttsamkeit, die damals eines Schutzpredners nicht bedurfte), falls er nur nicht lehre, daß man es ebenso machen solle; — denn ebenso hätten auch die alten Propheten (wenigstens Osee 1, 2 ff.; 3, 1 ff.) gethan. — Eine

genossen (XII, 5), die Anordnung der Erstlingsgaben (XIII, 3—7), die strenge Weisung gegen die Verleher der Bruderliebe (XV, 3), die Empfehlung oftmaliger Konferenzen behufs Erzielung der persönlichen Vollkommenheit für die Zeit des Weltendes (XVI, 2) und die Andeutung, daß beim Weltende diejenigen, welche in „ihrem“ (väterlichen? ebionitischen?) Glauben verharren, nicht anders als von oder unter dem der Vernichtung Geweihten (dem jerusalemer Tempelberge, zu welchem die Ebioniten noch immer betend sich hinwenden¹⁾?), würden gerettet werden (XVI, 5): diese Einzelheiten lassen bereits vermuthen, wie der Verfasser sich als vermeintlicher Mehrer der Gerechtigkeit und der Erkenntnis des Herrn für berechtigt ansehen mochte, von der überlieferten Lehr- und Gebetsweise abzuweichen. Nehmen wir noch hinzu, was die Zwölfapł. aus ihren Vorlagen anscheinend ausgesmerzt hat. Im Gebot der Gottesliebe (I, 2) fehlt der (den Ebioniten ohne Zweifel mißfällige)²⁾ Hinweis auf die bereits erfolgte Erlösung, der jedoch, wie wir schon sahen, nach dem Wortlaut der apost. Ro. zu schließen, ebenso wie im Barnabasbriefe (XIX, 2) auch bereits in den zwei We-

gerade entgegengesetzte Auslegung s. bei Ad. Harnack a. a. O. zu XI, 11.

1) Circumciduntur (Ebionaei) ac perseverant in his consuetudinibus, quae sunt secundum legem, et judaico charactere vitae, uti et Hierosolymam adorent, quasi domus sit Dei. Iren. adv. haer. I, 26, 2. Der Text der Zwölfapł. lautet hier: *Οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.* Vgl. dazu Joel, 3, 5 (Vulg. 2, 32).

2) Vgl. Philosophumena, VII, 34: *Ἐβιωναῖοι . . . ἔθεντο Ἰουδαϊκοῖς ζῶσι, κατὰ νόμον φάσκοντες δικαιῶσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγοντες δεδικαιῶσθαι ποιήσαντα τὸν νόμον.*

gen, auf welchen die Zwölfapl. fußt, gestanden haben dürfte. Ja selbst in den eucharistischen Gebeten (IX u. X) unterbleibt jede Erinnerung an den Erlösungstod des Herrn, obschon nach 1. Cor. 11, 26 (sowie nach Justin, Dial. cum Tryph. c. 41; vgl. c. 117) bei jedem Genusse der eucharistischen Gaben eine Verkündigung dieses Todes stattfinden sollte und demgemäß auch in der vom Verfasser der Zwölfapl. benutzten Verordnung vermuthlich vorgeschrieben war. Im Barnabasbriefe (XIX, 7) werden die Herrn zur schonenden Behandlung ihrer Knechte, die auf denselben Gott hoffen, mit der Bemerkung aufgefordert, daß dieser ihr beiderseitiger Gott gekommen ist, nicht nach Ansehen der Person zu berufen, sondern zu denjenigen, welche der Geist zubereitet hat¹⁾. Die Ankunft Gottes im Fleische und sein Wandeln unter den Menschen wird hier als eine der Vergangenheit angehörige geschichtliche Thatsache vorausgesetzt, die als solche von ebionitisch denkenden Männern freilich nicht anerkannt wurde²⁾. Der Verfasser der Zwölfapl. aber giebt den Text des Barnabasbriefes in der Weise wieder, daß er von Gott in der Gegenwart aussagt, derselbe komme nicht nach Ansehen der Person zu berufen³⁾, und so das Bekenntniß der Menschwerdung Gottes vermeidet. Ueberhaupt

1) *Μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν· ὅτι ἦλθεν οὐ κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοίμασεν.*

2) *Ἐβιωναῖοι δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι μὲν τὸν κόσμον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ γεγονέναι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμοίως τῇ Κηρίνθῃ καὶ Καρποκράτει μυθεύουσιν.* Philosoph. 1. c. Cf. Iren. adv. haer. IV, 23, 4 u. I, 26, 2.

3) *Οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι.*

wird in der Zwölfapl. die Gottheit Christi nirgends unzweideutig gelehrt. Jesus Christus wird einerseits der Knecht Gottes (παῖς Θεοῦ, ebenso wie David, IX, 2, 3, X, 2, 3), andererseits aber auch der Herr (z. B. VIII, 2 u. öfter), ja (in der trinitarischen Taufformel VII, 1, vgl. XVI, 4) auch wohl der Sohn Gottes genannt: da indes auch die Ebioniten, obschon sie Jesum für einen bloßen Menschen erklärten, welcher nur wegen seiner Gesetzeserfüllung Christus heiße ¹⁾, sowohl die trinitarische Taufformel ²⁾ als auch die Feier des „Tages des Herrn“ ³⁾ beibehielten, reichen diese Bezeichnungen nicht hin, um die Rechtgläubigkeit des Verfassers der Zwölfapl. nachzuweisen; ja selbst der Jubelruf Ὁσanna τῷ Θεῷ Ἀβιδ in der Erwartungsfeier der Reichsvollendung (X, 6) hilft über diesen Zweifel nicht hinweg, da nach dem Zusammenhange an Christus, dessen Wiederkunft nirgends offen angekündigt wird (s. XVI, 5—8 u. vergl. dazu Matth. 24, 30), nicht nothwendig zu denken ist, die ungewöhnliche Formel ⁴⁾ vielmehr recht wohl auf denjenigen bezogen werden kann, als dessen Knecht zu Anfang der Feierlichkeit David (wie auch Jesus) genannt wurde (IX, 2) und welcher im Verlaufe der eucharistischen Gebete zu wiederholten Malen und noch ganz kurz vor dem fraglichen Jubelrufe um die Herbeiführung der Reichsvollendung angerufen worden ist (IX, 4 u. X, 5). Angesichts dieser Sachlage geht es nicht wohl an, beim Verfasser der

1) Philosoph. l. c.

2) Hieronymus in Lucif. c. 9.

3) Eusebius, H. E. III, 28 ed. Lämmer.

4) S. über dieselbe Ab. Harnack, a. a. O. zu X, 6.

Zwölfapl., der wie von der Menschwerdung und Erlösung so auch von der Geistesessendung durchweg schweigt, eine Hinneigung zum Montanismus anzunehmen; wohl aber führen die angegebenen Einzelheiten, wozu noch der wahrscheinliche Gebrauch des Evangeliums der Nazaräer und Ebioniten (s. o.) und Nichtgebrauch der paulinischen und johanneischen Schriften kommt¹⁾, zu dem Ergebnis, daß der Verfasser der Zwölfapl. wahrscheinlich einer ebionitifizierenden Richtung huldigte und somit an dem Aufschwunge, welchen die Sekte der Ebioniten gegen das Jahr 200 nahm²⁾, wohl nicht unbetheiligt war.

1) Nach F. Probst, Lehre und Gebet in den 3 erst. christl. Jahrh., 1871, S. 182, dürfte außerdem die Weisung VII, 4, daß der Täufling ein oder zwei Tage vor der Taufe fasten soll, auf Verwandtschaft mit Ebionitismus deuten. Vgl. auch, was XIII, 3—7 über die nur durch ihr Betragen beglaubigten Propheten als nunmehrige Hohepriester und über die ihnen zukommenden Erstlingsgaben gesagt wird. Doch verbietet die milde Behandlung der Speiseverbote (VI, 3) sowie die Annahme der anti-jüdischen Fastenordnung (VIII, 1), an schroffen Ebionitismus zu denken.

2) Die Partei der gnostischen Ebioniten erhielt um jene Zeit ihre Clementinischen Homilien; den vulgären Ebionitismus aber vertrat wenig später als theologischer Schriftsteller der Bibelübersetzer Symmachus. S. Ad. Schlemann, die Clementinen, 1844, S. 476 ff. Vgl. außerdem das Auftreten des Blastus sowie des Theodotus des Gerbers in Rom um das Jahr 192 und die sich anschließenden dortigen Bewegungen. (Der damalige römische Bischof Victor erließ nach dem Pontificalbuche über den Taufvollzug eine ähnliche Bestimmung, wie sie sich in den anti-ebionitischen Verordnungen fand. Der Gerber aus Byzanz aber dürfte, wenn sämtliche alten Nachrichten über ihn und seine Schüler — die Angaben des libellus synodicus in Verbindung mit Eusebius H. E. V, 19 ff. nicht ausgenommen — näher geprüft und mit Bezugnahme auf die neu entdeckte Schrift beleuchtet werden, leicht als der bislang ungenannte Autor der Zwölfapl. zu bezeichnen sein, der nach Abfassung dieser seiner Erstlingschrift ebensowohl fähig war, eine Zeit lang

Die der Zwölfapl. zu Grunde liegende ältere Verordnung aber, die im Sinne ihrer Entstehungszeit¹⁾ als „anti-ebionitisch“ zu bezeichnen sein wird, hat anscheinend grade in dem Abschnitte, in welchem sie vor einer abweichenden und zur Auflösung führenden Lehre warnte, die bedeutendste Aenderung und Abkürzung erlitten. Aus der schriftgemäßen²⁾ „Danksagung und Brodbrechung“ ist nach XIV, 1 (vgl. IX, 3 u. 4) eine „Brodbrechung und Danksagung“ geworden, in welcher des Leidens und Sterbens Christi keine Erwähnung geschieht, die Brodegestalt als ein Vorbild der noch erst zerstreuten, aber einst in der Endzeit zusammenzubringenden Gemeinde Gottes aufgefaßt wird (IX, 4; vgl. X, 5) und überhaupt an die Stelle einer mit dem Genuß der Eucha-

als erster Rassenrendant der montanistischen Prophetie zu fungieren, als auch, mit Montanus zugleich zu Hierapolis und Anchialus kirchlich verurtheilt, aus dem Kreise der Montanisten, deren Glaubensrichtung er ohnehin nicht theilte, plötzlich zu verschwinden, als auch hiernach daheim in der Verfolgung Christum zu verleugnen, abermals spurlos zu verschwinden, um in Rom als Sophist aufzutreten, und schließlich eine ebionitische Secte zu stiften, deren Anhänger durch Besoldung ihres Bischofs Natalis sowie durch zahlreiche Abänderungen der heiligen Schrift ihrem Meister würdig nachfolgten.)

1) Später, als die ebionitische Bewegung bereits festere Form angenommen und der christlichen Taufe und Sonntagsfeier vom Ebionitismus, welcher diese Ueberlieferungen beibehielt, keine Gefahr mehr drohte, hätte eine anti-ebionitische Verordnung, besonders wenn dabei nur der gefährdete Glaube und nicht auch eine üble Verwaisung der Gemeinden in Betracht gekommen wäre, allerdings einen anderen Inhalt erfordert. Um so leichter konnte der Verfasser der Zwölfapl. das zu seiner Zeit in mancher Hinsicht bereits veraltete Schriftstück ungeachtet der entgegengesetzten Tendenz auf seine Weise benutzen.

2) Vgl. Matth. 26, 26; Marc. 14, 22; Luc. 22, 19; 1 Cor. 11, 24.

ristie schließenden Gedächtnißfeier des vollbrachten Erlösungsopfers eine erst nach dem Genuß (*μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*, wie es X, 1 heißt,) ihren Höhepunkt erreichende Erwartungsfeier des Weltgerichts und der Reichsvollendung tritt, wie sie für ebionitische Gemeinden Bedürfnis sein mochte. Zieht man deshalb die im zweiten Psaff'schen Trenäus-Fragmente ¹⁾ erwähnten „deutero-apostolischen Verordnungen“ herbei, aus welchen die Leser unter Andrem wissen konnten, daß der Herr eine neue Darbringung im neuen Bunde eingesetzt habe gemäß der Weissagung des Malachias von dem reinen Opfer aller Orte ²⁾, so geht es nicht wohl an, jene Verordnungen in der Zwölfapl. selbst wiederzufinden, da in letzterer zwar (XIV, 3) die Weissagung des Malachias in Verbindung mit der Sonntagsfeier angeführt, aber der Einsetzung eines neutestamentlichen Opfers nirgends ausdrücklich gedacht wird und doch die „zweiten Verordnungen der Apostel“, indem sonst wohl nicht gerade auf sie besonders hingewiesen würde, hierüber sich deutlicher ausgedrückt haben müssen, als selbst die neutestamentlichen heiligen Schriften, z. B. Matth. 26, 26 ff. oder Luc. 22, 19 f. Dagegen erscheint es nicht unmöglich, daß die der Zwölfapl. zu Grunde liegenden Vorschriften, deren eucharistische Gebete in der Zwölfapl. ja nur unvollständig mitgetheilt werden, behufs Abwehr des Ebionitismus die Stiftung

1) S. Irenaei Opp. ed. Ad. Stieren, I, 854; Hilgenfeld, l. c. ² p. 78.

2) Οἱ ταῖς δευτέραις τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεις παρηκολούθηκότες ἴσασι τὸν Κύριον νέαν προσφορὰν ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ καθεστηκέναι κατὰ τὸ Μαλαχίου κτλ.

des neuen Bundes und die Einsetzung des neuen Opfers nachdrücklich hervorgehoben haben. Vielleicht also sind es diese durch die Zwölfapl. uns großentheils wiedergegebenen anti-ebionitischen Bestimmungen, welche einst den Titel: „Deutero-apostolische Verordnungen“ führten.

4.

Die erste Aufnahme der Zwölfapostellehre
in der Väterzeit.

Waren die obigen Aufstellungen über die Geistesrichtung des Verfassers der Zwölfapl. zutreffend, so ist es nicht wahrscheinlich, daß seine Arbeit in kirchlichen Kreisen sofort beifällig aufgenommen worden sei. In Anbetracht des Umstandes, daß der Verfasser wohl erst in der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts und zwar vermuthlich in Palästina oder einem benachbarten Lande als Schriftsteller aufgetreten ist¹⁾, erscheint nun Clemens von Alexandrien als der nächste Zeuge, welcher uns über die angeregte Frage vielleicht Auskunft zu geben vermag. Dieser aber unternimmt es am Schluß seines Pädagogen (III, 12, p. 304 sqq. ed. Potter.), selbst gleichsam einen „Unterricht der Apostel für Neulinge“ zu liefern oder vielmehr, von welcher Art der durch die Apostel erteilte Neulingsunterricht gewesen sei (οἷα δι' ἀποστόλων ἡ παιδαγωγία), quellenmäßig anzugeben. Ziehen wir also diese Erörterungen näher in Betracht.

1) Dies ergibt sich wenigstens als die nächstliegende Annahme, da der Autor anscheinend den Pastor Hermas kennt und sich des Hebräerevangeliums bedient.

Zuvörderst erfahren wir von der Absicht des Autors, den bisher auf die Taufe Vorbereiteten bei ihrer Entlassung aus dem pädagogischen Unterrichte einen kurzen Subegriff der Heilslehre gleichsam mit auf den Weg zu geben und ihnen aus der heiligen Schrift die einfachen Gebote mitzutheilen, welche sie vor den Wegen des Irrthums bewahren und auf dem guten Wege erhalten können. Einen ersten Subegriff all dieser Lebensregeln bilde aber der Ausspruch des Herrn (Luc. 6, 31): „Wie ihr wollt, daß euch die Menschen thun, so thuet auch ihr ihnen.“ Doch sei es möglich, alle Gebote auch in zwei Worte zusammenzufassen, nämlich in die beiden Worte von der Gottes- und Nächstenliebe. Da indes doch auch in's Einzelne der Gebote eingegangen werden müsse, so diene dazu der mosaische Dekalog mit seiner Sündenauflählung: „Du sollst nicht ehebrechen, nicht Götzendienst treiben, nicht Knaben schänden, nicht stehlen, nicht falsches Zeugnis geben; ehre deinen Vater und deine Mutter u. s. w.“ Dies sei zu beachten und was sonst gemäß den Schriftlesungen befohlen werde. —

Hierin besteht der erste von den drei Theilen des beabsichtigten Schlußunterrichts. Wie man leicht bemerkt, verfolgt Clemens dabei wesentlich denselben Gedankengang, welchen die der Zwölfapl. zu Grunde liegende Darstellung der zwei Wege einhielt. Denn auch diese stellte im Unterschiede vom Lichtwege des Barnabasbriefes die beiden Liebesgebote voran und ließ zur näheren Erklärung derselben sofort die Verbote der zweiten mosaischen Gesetzestafel folgen. Die nächstliegende Vermuthung lautet deshalb dahin, daß unser Autor eben

diese ältere Darstellung der zwei Wege hier vor Augen gehabt habe. Doch läßt sich nicht verkennen, daß die Ausführungen des Alexandriners mit dieser Darstellung keineswegs vollkommen übereinstimmen: er schickt den beiden Liebesgeboten noch die Worte: „wie ihr wollt u. s. w.“ voraus und erwähnt schließlich (nach Matth. 19, 17 ff.) auch noch ausdrücklich das vierte der Zehngebote, obschon beide Schrifttexte in den älteren „Zwei Wegen“ anscheinend fehlten. Der Anschluß unseres Autors an seine Vorlage ist demnach offenbar kein ausnahmslos strenger und deshalb läßt sich immerhin die Möglichkeit nicht bestreiten, daß die Zwölfapl. selbst mit ihrer Darstellung der zwei Wege (obschon dann die Abweichung vom Gedankengange des alexandrinischen Lehrers eine noch größere ist), hier als Vorlage gedient hat. Jedenfalls aber erscheint unzweifelhaft, daß die eine oder die andere Darstellung der zwei Wege (wenn nicht beide zugleich) unserem Autor vorschwebte, da seine Erwähnung des Götzendienstes und der Knabenschändung ¹⁾ unter den Verboten der zweiten mosaischen Gesetzestafel nur auf diese Weise erklärlich ist. —

Der zweite Theil des Schlußunterrichts sodann bringt eine Reihe von Aussprüchen der Propheten und Christi, welche über den Inhalt und Gedankengang der älteren „Zwei Wege“ beträchtlich hinausgehen. Nimmt man deshalb an, daß Clemens diese letztgenannte Schrift

1) Clemens von Alexandrien nennt zwischen den Dekalogsworten die Knabenschändung auch in der Cohort. c. 10, p. 85 und im Paed. II, 10, p. 223 (vgl. Strom. III, 4, p. 527): man ersieht hieraus, wie sehr eine von den beiden verwandten Darstellungen der zwei Wege seinem Gedächtnisse geläufig war.

bisher vor Augen hatte, so ist zu schließen, daß er eine Stoffvermehrung für wünschenswerth erachtete und daß insofern die Zwölfap. mit ihrem reicheren Inhalte seinen Beifall gefunden haben dürfte. Diese letztere Vermuthung gewinnt noch dadurch an Annehmbarkeit, daß die Aussprüche, welche auf den Dekalog folgen, nicht ohne Bezugnahme auf die Zwölfap. ausgewählt scheinen. Wenigstens wird als erster schriftgemäßer Befehl, welcher neben den Dekalogsworten beobachtet werden soll, die Mahnung des Jesaias 1, 16—18 angeführt: „Waschet euch und werdet rein u. s. w., lernet Gutes thun u. s. w.“ An zweiter Stelle geschieht des Gebets Erwähnung sowie an dritter des Fastens, wobei die Aufforderung, Gutes zu thun durch Uebung der Barmherzigkeitswerke, beidemale sich wiederholt. Hiernach aber kommt die Rede auf die Opfer, um unter Verwerfung des alttestamentlichen Altardienstes als gottgefälliges Opfer den zerfnirschten Geist und das Herz, welches seinen Bildner preist, hinzustellen. — Vergleicht man nun hiermit die Vorschriften in der zweiten Hälfte der Zwölfap. über die Taufe (VII), über Fasten und Beten (VIII) und über die eucharistischen Gebete (IX u. X), so läßt sich die Möglichkeit nicht leugnen, daß die obigen Aussprüche mit Rücksicht auf diese Vorschriften, die wegen der Arcandisciplin im Pädagogen noch nicht mittheilbar scheinen konnten, zusammengestellt worden seien. — Der nächstfolgende Ausspruch allerdings entspricht nicht in gleicher Weise dem nächsten Texte der Zwölfap., welche nunmehr (XI, XII u. XIII) von den Wanderprediger u. s. w. handelt. Auf diesen Abschnitt nimmt unser Autor nicht

Bezug, desgleichen auch nicht auf die noch folgenden Vorschriften über die eucharistische Sonntagsfeier (XIV) und über die Bestellung von Episkopen und Diakonen (XV, 1 u. 2). Erst bei der Vorschrift über die brüderliche Zurechtweisung (XV, 3) treffen Zwölfapl. und Schlußunterricht des Pädagogen wieder zusammen, indem der Alexandriner an die Aussprüche über das Opfer den Text anreicht: „Wenn dein Bruder sich verfehlt hat, verweise es ihm“ u. s. w. (Luc. 17, 3 f.). Aber diese Abweichung vom Gedankengange der Zwölfapl. erklärt sich wohl daraus, daß einerseits die Vorschrift über die eucharistische Sonntagsfeier durch das vom Opfer Gesagte erledigt und anderseits die Sätze über Wanderprediger und dergl. sowie über Episkopenbestellung u. s. w. nicht hierhergehörig scheinen konnten. Die Vermuthung, daß die vorliegenden Schrifttexte im Hinblick auf die zweite Hälfte der Zwölfapl. ausgewählt worden seien, wird sich deshalb immerhin nicht so leicht abweisen lassen. Dazu kommt, daß auch die noch folgenden Aussprüche mit der Zwölfapl. zusammentreffen, indem wir unter Anderem nun noch dem Gebote der Feindesliebe und der willigen Entgegennahme von Unbilden (Luc. 6, 27—29) sowie der Ermahnung zur menschlichen Behandlung der Diensthoten begegnen. Beide Stücke entsprechen den beiden Einschaltungen, welche in der ersten Hälfte der Zwölfapl. (I u. IV) zur älteren Darstellung des Lebensweges hinzugekommen sind, so daß thatsächlich im vorliegenden zweiten Theile des von Clemens ertheilten „Schlußunterrichts“, nachdem im ersten Theile der Hauptinhalt der älteren in der Zwölfapl. verwendeten „Zwei

Wege“ kurz angegeben worden, alle hiernach noch unberücksichtigten Abschnitte der Zwölfapł., abgesehen von mehreren wohl begreiflichen Auslassungen (s. o.), sich mehr oder minder augenfällig vertreten finden. Diese Thatsache darf nicht wohl für zufällig gelten, um so weniger, als die zuletzt erwähnte Ermahnung zur menschlichen Behandlung der Dienstboten ausnahmsweise nicht mit Schriftworten geschieht und deshalb auch nicht lediglich als Beispiel eines schriftmäßigen Befehls, sondern vielmehr vornehmlich aus Rücksicht auf den noch zu berührenden Abschnitt der Zwölfapł., welcher diese Ermahnung enthält (IV, 10), hergesetzt worden sein wird.

Läßt sich aber hiernach kaum zweifeln, daß Clemens von Alexandrien die Zwölfapł. kennt und im zweiten Theile seines pädagogischen Schlußunterrichts vor Augen hat, so folgt daraus zunächst doch nicht mehr, als daß ihm ein Hinausgehen über den Gedankenkreis der älteren Darstellung der zwei Wege wünschenswerth erschien und die Zwölfapł. insofern seinen Beifall fand. Denn daß ihm auch diese ältere, erst in der Zwölfapł. erweiterte Darstellung bei Abfassung des Pädagogen bekannt war und vorschwebte, ist mit vorwiegender Wahrscheinlichkeit daraus zu entnehmen, daß der erste Theil seines Schlußunterrichts lediglich Stücke der älteren Darstellung anführt und daß die von der Zwölfapł. in den älteren Lebensweg eingeschalteten Sprüche erst im zweiten Theile und zwar erst nach den übrigen der Zwölfapł. eigenthümlichen Vorschriften an die Reihe kommen. Wenigstens beweist dieses Verfahren, daß Clemens die älteren Bestandtheile in der vom Verfasser der Zwölfapł. gegebenen Darstellung der zwei Wege von den jüngeren

erst hier hinzugefügten Einschaltungen recht wohl unterscheidet: ein Umstand, welcher sich am leichtesten durch die Annahme erklärt, daß unser Autor von dem Vorhandensein jener älteren Bestandtheile als einer besonderen Schrift bereits damals Kenntniß hatte. Keineswegs aber berechtigt der vorliegende zweite Theil des Schlußunterrichts zu der Annahme, daß Clemens von Alexandrien mit dem Inhalte der Zwölfapl. überhaupt einverstanden gewesen sei. Zunächst war ihm auch dieser Inhalt noch nicht umfassend genug. Zwischen dem Ausspruche von der brüderlichen Zurechtweisung und dem Gebote der Feindesliebe bringt deshalb der Schlußunterricht noch eine bunte Reihe von Schriftlehren für Söldner, Zollpächter, Gerichtsbeamte und Landwirthe, bezüglich der Unterthanenpflicht, des Eides und der üblen Nachtragung, gegen die Lügner und Hochmüthigen und, nach Seligpreisung der Barmherzigen, gegen den Zorn, wozu später noch Bemerkungen über Gebetsvertrauen, Ehrgeiz, Bußfertigkeit und Wohlthätigkeit hinzukommen. Hinwieder übergeht Clemens einige der Zwölfapl. eigenthümliche Stücke, wie namentlich die Ausführungen über die prüfungslose Almosengewährung (in R. I der Zwölfapl.) und über die vollständige oder doch thunlichste Beobachtung der Gebote des Herrn (in R. VI). Und will man in diesem Verhalten noch keine besondere Absicht erkennen, obschon es sehr nahe liegt, hier eine Verschiedenheit der beiderseitigen Ansichten als Grund des Stillschweigens zu vermuthen, so macht sich der Standpunkt des Alexandriners im Gegensatze zur Zwölfapl. doch wenigstens bei der Frage über die brü-

derliche Zurechtweisung nachdrücklich genug geltend, um eine Billigung der Zwölfapl. als solcher nicht weiter für wahrscheinlich zu halten. Denn nachdem Clemens schon durch den oben erwähnten Ausspruch: „Wenn dein Bruder sich verfehlt hat, verweise es ihm und, wenn er in sich gegangen, verzeihe es ihm: wenn er siebenmal am Tage sich verfehlt hat gegen dich und siebenmal sich mit dem Bekenntnis der Buße an dich wendet, verzeihe es ihm“, die Lehre der Schrift dahin angegeben hat, daß bei Verletzungen der Bruderliebe neben der Hauptpflicht der Versöhnlichkeit auch die Nebenpflicht der Zurechtweisung obwaltet, kommt er nach der Ermahnung bezüglich der Dienstboten nochmals auf die Behandlung der sich verfehlenden Brüder zurück und erklärt, daß man solche Brüder zurechtweisen und (kurzweg, gleichsam) mit dem Stecken züchtigen, nicht aber (langsam oder andauernd quälen und) martern solle. *Δεῖ δὲ καί, lautet seine Erklärung* l. c. p. 307, *τοὺς πλημμελοῦντας τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐ κολλάζειν, ἐπιτιμᾶν δέ· ὁ γὰρ φειδόμενος, φησί* (Prov. 13, 24), *τῆς βακτηρίας ἑαυτοῦ, μισεῖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱόν.* Man wird diese Worte kaum anders, als eben angegeben, auslegen können, sofort aber auch einräumen müssen, daß dieselben eine Mißbilligung desjenigen enthalten, was die Zwölfapl. bei Verletzungen der Bruderliebe vorschreibt, indem sie XV, 3 allseitiges Schweigen in Gegenwart des Uebelthäters bis nach erfolgter Bekehrung des letzteren zur Pflicht macht.

Aber noch mehr. Nachdem im ersten Theile des Schlußunterrichts der Inhalt der älteren „Zwei Wege“ als Kern aller Gebote angeführt und im zweiten Theile

auf die übrigen Stücke der Zwölfapl. näher eingegangen worden, erklärt Clemens es für nothwendig, bezüglich dieses zweiten Theiles, dessen Aussprüche das zweite, nicht durch Moses, sondern durch die Apostel verkündigte Gesetz bilden, auch noch anzugeben, in welcher Form die Apostel ihrerseits dieses zweite Gesetz zur Belehrung und Erziehung der Neulinge ausgedrückt haben. „Von solcher Art“, heißt es beim Uebergange vom zweiten zum dritten Theile des Schlußunterrichts, l. c. p. 307 sq., „sind die Gesetze des Logos, die Worte des Trostes, nicht in steinerne, vom Finger des Herrn beschriebene Tafeln, sondern in die allein unzerstörbaren Menschenherzen eingezeichnet. Deshalb ja wurden zerschmettert die Tafeln der Herzensharten, damit die Glaubensgebote (*αἱ πίστεις*) der Unmündigen in zartempfindliche Sinnesvermögen eingeprägt würden. Beide Gesetze jedoch dienten dem Logos zur ersten erziehlichen Unterweisung der Menschheit, das eine durch Moses, das andere durch die Apostel. Von welcher Art nun die erste erziehliche Unterweisung auch durch die Apostel war, auch bezüglich dieser Form scheint mir eine Erörterung nothwendig“ ¹⁾. Hierauf folgen als Beispiele apostolischer Anforderungen die Schriftstellen Ephes. 4, 25. 26. 27. 28. 31. 32; 5, 1. 2. 22. 25; 6, 1. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9; Gal. 5, 25. 26; 6, 2. 7. 9; 1 Theff. 5, 13. 14. 15. 19. 20. 21. 22; Col. 4, 2. 5. 6; 1 Tim. 4, 6. 7. 8; 6, 2 und Röm. 12, 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13, vorherr-

1) Ἀμφω δὲ τὸν νόμον διηκόνουν τῷ Λόγῳ εἰς παιδαγωγίαν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, ὁ μὲν διὰ Μωσέως, ὁ δὲ δι' ἀποστόλων. Οἷα γ' οὖν καὶ δι' ἀποστόλων ἡ παιδαγωγία, ἀναγκαῖόν μοι δοκεῖ, καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἶδους διαλεχθῆναι τοῦτον.

schend kurze, schwunghafte Sentenzen, deren Auswahl jedoch einen engeren Anschluß an den Inhalt der Zwölfap. nicht erkennen läßt. Was hat unser Autor nun mit dieser Zusammenstellung paulinischer Schrifttexte wohl beabsichtigt? Und warum hat er dieselbe, nachdem er bereits das Gesetz des Moses und das der Apostel inhaltlich mitgetheilt hatte, noch für nothwendig erachtet?

Bei der augenscheinlichen Bezugnahme auf den Inhalt der Zwölfap. im zweiten Theile des Schlußunterrichts läßt sich der Versuch, mit den eigenen Worten der Apostel zu zeigen, welche Form und Gestalt der von diesen ertheilte erste erziehliche Unterricht nachweislich gehabt hat, wohl nicht anders verstehen, als daß auch hier die Rücksicht auf die Zwölfap. maßgebend war und, wie schon im zweiten Theile der Inhalt der letzteren keine vollkommene Zustimmung gefunden hatte, nun insbesondere der Anspruch dieser Schrift, als Lehre der Apostel angesehen zu werden, seine gebührende Zurückweisung erhalten sollte. Denn zwar erklärt Clemens nicht ausdrücklich, daß er der neuerschienenen sogenannten Zwölfap. die alte biblische Apl. entgegenstellen wolle, — er redet überhaupt nicht von der seinem Geiste vor-schwebenden Schrift, sei es, weil er nicht zum weiteren Bekanntwerden derselben beitragen wollte, sei es, weil er dieselbe nicht für wichtig genug hielt, um offen widerlegt zu werden, — aber thatsächlich hat er jenes Vorhaben ausgeführt und dadurch ohne Zweifel erreicht, daß seine Schüler genügend belehrt waren, um den Werth und die Bedeutung des der Zwölfap. beigelegten Titels richtig beurtheilen zu können. Eine günstige Aufnahme

dieser Schrift als solcher von Seiten des alexandrinischen Lehrers wird demnach nicht anzunehmen sein ¹⁾. —

Wer nun noch die ersten 32 Kapitel im siebenten Buche der apostol. Constitutionen mit der Zwölfapl. im Einzelnen vergleicht, wird finden, daß der Verfasser des in diesen Kapiteln enthaltenen und der Nachwelt aufbewahrten „Sittenspiegels“ den Text der Zwölfapl. dazu benutzt hat, um eine eigene, noch durch zahlreiche Zwischenbemerkungen bereicherte Lehre der Apostel zu liefern, ohne durch den Titel seiner Vorlage sich von mancherlei Abweichungen, welche theils der verschiedene Standpunkt, theils die fortgeschrittene Zeit erforderte, abhalten zu lassen, aber auch ohne seine Vorlage offen zu bekämpfen oder auch nur

1) Ueber das Schriftcitat aus der fünften Ansprache der zwei Wege Strom. I, 20 s. o. Auch die Berührung mit dem ersten eucharistischen Gebete der Zwölfapl. in der Schrift Quis dives salv. § 29, p. 952 ed. Potter. (cf. Paedag. I, p. 107) ist eher aus einer unmittelbaren Bekanntschaft des Alexandriners mit den betreffenden Gebetsworten, welche anscheinend aus der kirchlichen Ueberlieferung in die Zwölfapl. übergegangen und erst hier ebionitisch verwässert worden sind, als aus einer Benutzung der letztgenannten Schrift herzuleiten. Vgl. A. d. Harnack, a. a. O. zu IX, 2, und Const. Ap. VII, 25, p. 208, 25 sq. (Clemens hatte vermuthlich einen Text im Sinne wie: *Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, — ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Λαβίδ, — ἧς ἐξέχυθη τὸ τίμιον αἷμα — ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τετρωμένας ψυχάς.*) Bryennios, a. a. O. S. 4, Anm., weist außerdem auf Strom. V. 5, p. 664 ed. Potter. hin, wo mit Berufung auf das Evangelium und die Apostel sowie auf alle Propheten der schmale Weg der Gebote und Verbote und der breite, verderbliche Weg der Lüste und der Bornmüthigkeit erwähnt werden: doch läßt sich eine Bezugnahme auf die Zwölfapl. in dieser an Matth. 7, 13 u. 14 sowie an den obigen Schlußunterricht erinnernden Textstelle nicht erkennen.

zu erwähnen. Um das Verfahren des Verfassers wenigstens durch einige Beispiele zu verdeutlichen, so fügt der Sittenspiegel in der Beschreibung des Lebensweges zu der Weisung des Herrn, dem Zuschlagenden auch die andere Wange zu reichen, statt der nach Matth. 5, 48 zwar statthaften, aber nach Luc. 6, 36 doch auch der Erklärung bedürftigen Bemerkung der Zwölfapl.: „und du wirst vollkommen sein“, die wohlbemessenen Worte bei: „nicht als ob die Abwehr verwerflich wäre, sondern weil die Ertragung des Bösen schätzenswerther ist.“ Const. Apost. (ed. P. A. de Lagarde, Lips. 1862) VII, 1, p. 195, 15 s. Dem Ansinnen der Zwölfapl., jedem Bittenden ohne Prüfung der Bedürftigkeit und Würdigkeit zu geben, weicht der Esp. durch die Bemerkung aus, daß Gott seine Sonne über Böse und Gute aufgehen lasse (Matth. 5, 45) und demnach allen (Gerechten und Ungerechten) gegeben werden solle, daß aber doch (nach Gal. 6, 10) den Heiligen ein Vorzug gebühre (c. 1, p. 198, 21 sqq.). Mit derselben Umsicht läßt der Esp. im letzten Abschnitte des Lebensweges, wo die Zwölfapl. in auffälliger Weise das Bekenntnis der Menschwerdung Gottes vermeidet, die betreffenden Worte weg (c. 13, p. 204, 4) und übergeht desgleichen die Nachtragsbemerkung der Zwölfapl.: „Wenn du im Stande bist, das ganze Joch des Herrn zu tragen, so wirst du vollkommen sein; wenn aber nicht, thue was du kannst“ (c. 19, p. 205, 19). Die eucharistischen Gebete hinwider werden im Esp. durch eine Anzahl Sätze vervollständigt, in welchen die Gottheit Jesu sowie seine Menschwerdung und sein Erlösungstod offen und wiederholt zum Ausdruck kommen, doch so, daß dabei nicht blos

auf den Ebionitismus (wie in c. 25, p. 208, 16—28), sondern auch auf den Marcionismus (vgl. c. 26, p. 209, 15 sqq.) Bezug genommen ist¹⁾. Wo die Zwölfapł. die Vorschrift enthält, daß den Propheten gestattet werde, das eucharistische Gebet so lang, als sie wollen, zu verrichten, sagt der Esp., daß auch den Priestern die Verrichtung dieses Gebetes gestattet werden möge (c. 26. p. 210, 2). Nach Uebergehung der Regeln für die Unterscheidung der wahren und falschen Propheten erklärt sich der Esp. lediglich für Prüfung der zuwandernden Lehrer und bereitwillige Aufnahme der rechtgläubig befundenen mit der weiteren Empfehlung, den Altardienern alle Erstlingsgaben sowie den Armen alle Zehnten zuzuwenden (c. 28 s., p. 210, 11—29). Bezüglich

1) Der Verfasser läßt die in der Zwölfapł. erst nach dem Empfange der Eucharistie angefügten Dankgebete an dieser ordnungswidrigen Stelle stehen, vielleicht aus Rücksichten der Arcandisciplin. Gegen den Marcionismus und andere die Alleinherrschaft Gottes bestreitende Systeme richten sich auch einzelne Bemerkungen, welche an anderen Stellen eingestreut werden, wie bald im Anfange die Sätze, daß der Lebensweg der natürliche, der Todesweg dagegen nur aus der Nachstellung des Feindes hinzugekommen sei (c. 1, p. 197, 16—19) und daß der Lebensweg kein anderer sei, als welchen auch das Gesetz vorschreibe, nämlich Gott den Herrn aus ganzem Herzen und aus ganzer Seele zu lieben als den Einen und Alleinigen (p. 178, 1—3). Um so auffälliger erscheint es, daß in den Gebeten, welche der Esp. vor dem Empfange ansetzt, nur Textworte eingeschaltet werden, welche ohne alle deutliche Bezugnahme auf andere Verirrungen lediglich als Abwehr der ebionitischen Denkweise sich kennzeichnen. Die Vermuthung liegt hier wohl nahe, daß dies nicht Zufall, sondern auf die anti-ebionitischen Vorschriften zurückzuführen sei, auf welchen die zweite Hälfte der Zwölfapł. fußt und welche der Verfasser des Esp. an dieser Stelle für seine Textergänzung benutzt haben dürfte.

der zu bestellenden Bischöfe, Priester und Diakonen (so lautet nunmehr die Aufzählung) wird das Erforderniß der Rechtgläubigkeit beigelegt, dagegen die Geltung neben den Propheten und Lehrern nicht mehr erwähnt (c. 31, p. 211, 9—15). Die Vorschrift endlich, zu einem Mitbruder, welcher sich gegen einen andern verfehlt hat, kein Wort zu reden, bis er anderen Sinnes geworden, fällt im Esp. aus.

Diese mannigfachen Einzelheiten zeigen, daß der Verfasser des Esp.s bei seinen Abweichungen von der Zwölfapl. nicht bloß der vorgeschrittenen Entwicklung der kirchlichen Verhältnisse und des denselben zur Seite gehenden Sprachgebrauches Rechnung getragen, sondern auch seine gegentheilige Denkweise und Glaubensrichtung nicht ohne Umsicht und feines Gefühl für alles in seiner Vorlage Bedenkliche und Verfängliche geltend gemacht hat. Welches Urtheil aber über den Werth der Zwölfapl. ihn hierbei geleitet habe, läßt sich am besten aus der Schlußbemerkung zu den eucharistischen Gebeten ersehen. „Wenn einer kommt“, heißt es im Esp. (c. 27, p. 210, 7—11), „und auf diese Weise den Dank betet, so nehmet ihn auf als einen Schüler Christi: wenn er aber eine andere Lehre verkündigt, als welche euch Christus durch uns übergeben hat, so gestattet einem solchen nicht, den Dank zu beten; denn ein solcher verhöhnt mehr Gott, als daß er ihn verherrlicht“¹⁾. Mit so scharfen Worten konnte sich der Ver-

1) Ὑπολίζει γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος τὸν Θεὸν ἥπερ δοξάζει. Der Verfasser des Esp. ist dabei kein blinder Eiferer: will er doch z. B. bald nachher, daß auch dem zuwandernden Irrlehrer das zum Leben Nothwendige gegeben und nur sein Irrthum nicht ange-

fasser des Esp., nachdem er eben erst die eucharistischen Gebete seiner Vorlage durch sehr wesentliche Zusätze dogmatischen Inhalts vervollständigt hatte, doch wohl nicht gegen jeden anderen Lehrgehalt des Dankgebetes erklären, wenn ihm die Zwölfapl. mit ihrer so beträchtlich abweichenden Eucharistie für etwas besseres als für ein verwerfliches Machwerk galt, das mehr zur Verhöhnung als zur Verherrlichung Gottes anleite. Gleichwohl wird die Zwölfapl. im Esp. nirgends ausdrücklich erwähnt oder als verwerflich hingestellt: vermuthlich war sie den Lesern, welche der Esp. im Auge hatte, nicht näher bekannt, so daß es schon hinreichend erschien, ebenfalls eine Lehre der Apostel, als welche der Esp. in seinen Einleitungsworten (c. 1) sich einführt, zu verbreiten und durch den reicheren Inhalt der neuen Bearbeitung sowie durch die obige scharfe Warnung einer etwa künftig drohenden Bevorzugung der älteren Schrift vorzubeugen. —

Uebrigens ist die erst neuerdings als „Sittenspiegel“ bezeichnete Lehre der Apostel im siebenten Buche der apostol. Constitutionen nicht die einzige Gegenschrift, welche der jüngst veröffentlichten „Lehre der zwölf Apostel“ entgegengestellt wurde. Pseudo-Cyprian (De aleatoribus c. 4) berichtet von einer als Doctrinae apostolorum bezeichneten Schrift, in welcher die (vom Esp. stillschweigend übergangenen) Vorschriften unserer Zwölfapl. gegen die Verlezer der Bruderliebe (XIV, 2

nommen und keine Gebetsgemeinschaft mit ihm eingegangen werde (c. 28); überhaupt zeichnet ihn wohlüberlegte Rede und umsichtige Lehrbestimmung aus. Sein obiges Verdict fällt deshalb um so schwerer in's Gewicht.

u. XV, 3) mit einander verschmolzen und auf die Störung der in der Kirche nöthigen Ordnung beschränkt werden ¹⁾. Diese selbständige Art und Weise der Umarbeitung und Richtigstellung führt in eine Zeit zurück, in welcher sowohl das Bedürfniß nach einer derartigen Bearbeitung als auch der schriftstellerische Schaffensdrang noch lebhaft genug war, um eine so durchgreifende Neugestaltung, wie sie in der vorliegenden Probe sich verräth, zu Tage zu fördern. Es ist die Zeit des dritten und vierten Jahrhunderts, in welcher die Schrift *Doctrinae apostolorum* entstanden sein wird, oder vielmehr, da bereits von Eusebius (H. E. III, 26 ed. Lämmer.) unter den unechten, jedoch nicht von Häretikern stammenden Schriften des neuen Testaments „die Schrift der Thaten Pauli, der sogenannte Hirt und die Offenbarung Petri und außerdem der Brief mit dem Namen des Barnabas und die sogenannten Lehren der Apostel (*καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι Διδαχαί*)“ angeführt werden, die Zeit des dritten Jahrhunderts, an welche hier zu denken am nächsten liegt. Wenn daher Athanasius in der *Epistola fest.* 39 (Opp. ed. Bened. I, 2, 963) als Bücher, welche von den Vätern zum Vorlesen beim Katechumenenunterrichte bestimmt

1) S. Cypriani opp. ed. Hartel III, 96. Et in doctrinis apostolorum, heißt es hier, werde erklärt: Si quis frater delinquit in ecclesia et non paret legi, hic nec colligatur, donec poenitentiam agat, et non recipiatur, ne inquinetur et impediatur oratio vestra. Die entsprechenden Worte der Zwölfapl. lauten: Πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ (resp. c. 15: παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου) μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῖν (resp. μηδεὶς λαλεῖτω μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκουέτω, ἕως οὐ μετανοήσῃ), ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν.

worden seien, u. a. eine sogenannte Lehre der Apostel und den Hirten nennt (*καὶ Διδασχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ὁ Ποιμὴν*), so erscheint es zwar nicht unmöglich, daß damals schon seit Menschengedenken unsere (ebionitisirende) Zwölfapł. oder vielmehr ihre Darstellung der zwei Wege hier und da an Stelle des altkirchlichen diesen Gegenstand kürzer behandelnden Unterrichtsbüchleins den Katechumenen vorgelesen und eingeprägt wurde ¹⁾ und daß mithin jene Schrift von

1) Einen gewissen Anhalt für diese Vermuthung scheint der Umstand zu bieten, daß der Verfasser des vierten Buches der apost. Constitutionen (c. 3, p. 115, 8 sqq.) ein Wehe über diejenigen, welche besitzen und unter Verheimlichung (ihres Besitzes) Almosen empfangen, als einen Ausspruch des Herrn bezeichnet, wobei möglicher Weise die ähnliche Stelle im R. 1 der Zwölfapł. seinem Geiste vorschwebte. Nur ist diese Vermuthung (s. Bryennios, a. a. O. S. 8, Num. 13) deshalb wenig sicher, weil doch nur eine Aehnlichkeit der Texte obwaltet und insbesondere das betreffende Wehe in der Zwölfapł. sich keineswegs als einen (unmittelbaren) Ausspruch des Herrn darstellt. Dazu kommt, daß das dritte Buch der apost. Constitutionen (c. 4, p. 99, 1—4) in der Lehre vom Almosengeben den Standpunkt der Zwölfapł. durchaus nicht theilt und daß mithin, beide Bücher als Arbeit desselben Verfassers gedacht, auch im vierten Buche nicht unsere Zwölfapł., sondern eine Uebearbeitung und Berichtigung dieses Büchleins, die als Memoriertext in der Zeit des Katechumenats eingeprägt später leicht mit den biblischen Büchern zusammengeworfen wurde, benutzt sein dürfte. An den Sp. läßt sich hierbei freilich nicht denken, da derselbe die verfänglichen Bemerkungen der Zwölfapł. über das Almosengeben ebenso stillschweigend unterdrückt, wie die Vorschriften wegen der Verletzungen der Bruderliebe. Aber wie die *Doctrinae apostolorum* in letzterer Beziehung statt des Stillschweigens den Weg der Uebearbeitung und Berichtigung eingeschlagen, können sie dies recht wohl auch bei dem ersteren Gegenstande gethan und so den Text geliefert haben, auf welchem das dritte und vierte Buch der apostolischen

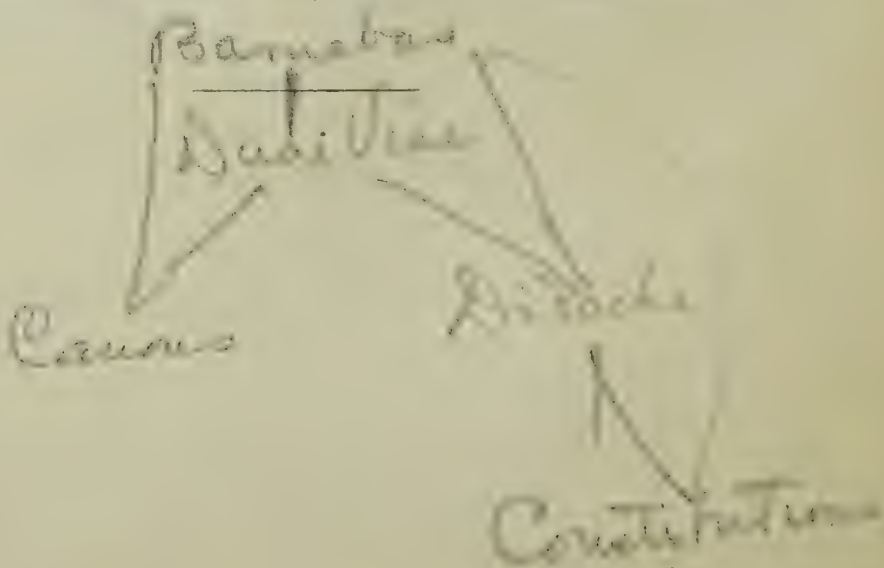
Athanasius gemeint sei. Schließt ja doch die scharfe Beurtheilung der Zwölfap. im Esp. nicht aus, daß Andere nachsichtiger und günstiger dachten, namentlich seit infolge der schon im dritten Jahrhundert strenger beobachteten Geheimnißlehrordnung die eigenthümliche Zurückhaltung der Zwölfap. in der Angabe der liturgischen Gebete nicht weiter auffallen mochte. Aber immerhin stehen dieser einen Möglichkeit noch zwei andere gegenüber, daß nämlich der katechetisch und dogmatisch unvergleichlich ansprechendere und ebenfalls als Unterricht der Apostel sich einführende Esp. oder auch die nach Eusebius inhaltlich nicht zu beauftragende Schrift *Doctrinae apostolorum*, falls vom Pluralis im Titel hier abgesehen werden darf, das von Athanasius erwähnte Vorlesebuch war¹⁾. Und von diesen drei Mög-

Constitutionen fußen. Für den Gebrauch unserer Zwölfap. im Katechumenenunterrichte ergiebt sich demnach hier kein genügender Beweis.

1) Nach Hilgenfeld, l. c.² p. 89, hieß bereits die unserer Zwölfap. zu Grunde liegende Darstellung der zwei Wege *ἡ διδασκαλία τῶν ἀποστόλων*, so daß auch diese von Athanasius gemeint sein könnte. Indes stehen jener nicht näher begründeten Aufstellung zwei Bedenken entgegen, nämlich: a) der Verfasser des Lebensweges gebraucht den Ausdruck *διδασκαλία* (Zwölfap. I, 3) zur Bezeichnung eines besonderen, die erste Auslegung der Liebesgebote mittheilenden Abschnittes seiner Darstellung und wird deshalb nicht selbst schon diesen Ausdruck zum Titel des Ganzen gewählt haben; und b) Clemens von Alex. beauftraget anscheinend den Titel „Apl.“ im Hinblick auf die Redeweise der Apostel im neuen Testament: er kennt diesen Titel also auch nicht bei dem von ihm als „Schrift“ angeführten Unterrichtsbüchlein, das nicht minder als unsere Zwölfap. von der Sprache der Apostel abweicht. —

lichkeiten wird sich der ersteren im Hinblick auf die vorstehenden Ausführungen über Entstehung, Geistesart und anfängliche Aufnahme unserer Zwölfap. am wenigsten der Vorzug größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit zuerkennen lassen ¹⁾.

1) Zu spät, um eingehender berücksichtigt zu werden, ist mir die zweite Hälfte der oben wiederholt erwähnten Schrift A. d. Harnack's (Texte und Unters. II, 2, S. 101 ff.) sowie der dritte Theil von Th. Zahn's Forschungen zur Gesch. des neutest. Kanons und der altkirchl. Lit. (I. S. 278 ff.) zu Gesicht gekommen. Doch sei wenigstens auf das durch Oscar v. Gebhardt's Bemühen glücklich beigebrachte Fragment einer lateinischen Doctrina apostolorum (bei A. d. Harnack, a. a. O. S. 275 ff.) hingewiesen, in welchem mit den Worten: Interpretatio autem horum verborum haec est: non moechaberis, non homicidium facies etc. in derselben Weise die dekalogähnliche Sündenauflählung eingeleitet wird, wie oben bezüglich der älteren zwei Wege als wahrscheinlich hingestellt wurde. O. v. Gebhardt vermuthet (a. a. O. S. 281) wegen dieser auffälligen Uebereinstimmung mit dem Gedankengang der ap. Ko., daß schon früh aus einer Handschrift, auf welcher sowohl die lateinische Doctrina apostolorum als auch die ap. Ko. fußen, ein (die Vollkommenheitsprüche und die Ueberschrift des nächsten Haupttheils enthaltendes) Blatt der Zwölfap. durch Zufall verloren gegangen sei. Ungezwungener erklärt sich indes die fragliche Auslassung der Vollkommenheitsprüche durch die Annahme, daß der Verf. der lateinischen Apl. seiner Arbeit (ebenso wie der Autor der ap. Ko.) die älteren zwei Wege zu Grunde gelegt und aus dieser Vorlage unter gelegentlicher Benutzung sowohl des Barnabasbriefes als auch der Zwölfap. eine eigene Doctrina apostolorum hergestellt habe. Im Uebrigen scheinen die nunmehr vorliegenden Ausdeutungen der Zwölfap. die zu Anfang gemachte Bemerkung in nicht geringem Grade zu bestätigen, daß an erster Stelle die Frage nach den Quellen der neuaufgefundenen Schrift von entscheidender Wichtigkeit ist.



4.

*Theologische
Quartalschrift*
66. 3; 1854. (Tübingen)

2.

Die Doctrina apostolorum.

Von Prof. Dr. Junf.

Der Anfang dieses Jahres brachte der Wissenschaft der Patristik und Kirchengeschichte mehrere werthvolle Bereicherungen. Das Pariser Bulletin critique N. 5 verkündigt die Auffindung des Liber de mysteriis des hl. Hilarius von Poitiers durch Gamurrini in der Bibliothek von Arezzo, sowie die Auffindung des größeren Theiles des Tractates, den der römische Archidiacon Pelagius 554 gegen die fünfte allgemeine Synode und den Papst Vigilius verfaßte, nach seiner baldigen Erhebung auf den päpstlichen Stuhl aber wieder zurücknahm, durch Abbé Duchesne in einem Codex der Bibliothek von Orleans. Das Bulletino di archeologia cristiana, serie IV, anno II N. 1/2 enthält ein aus 54 Hexametern bestehendes Gedicht auf einen als Märtyrer im Exil gestorbenen Papst, wahrscheinlich Martin I., jedenfalls nicht Liberius, wie de Rossi will, da dieser Papst nicht in der Verbannung für den Glauben starb. Endlich erschien in Constantinopel ein patristisches Werk ersten Ranges, und diesem seien die folgenden Zeilen gewidmet. Es ist die

Doctrina apostolorum, aus der als „Schrift“ bereits durch Clemens von Alexandrien (Strom. I c. 20 § 100 p. 377 ed. Potter) ein Citat gebracht wird, die Eusebius (H. E. III c. 25) neben dem Pastor Hermä, dem Barnabasbrief, den Acten des Paulus und der Offenbarung des Petrus unter den Apokryphen aufführt; die Athanasius (Ep. 39 ed. Patav. 1777 t. I, 768) in die Reihe der Schriften stellt, die er als für die Katechumenen nützliche Lesebücher bezeichnet, nämlich der Bücher Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobias und Pastor Hermä; deren Umfang Nicephorus in der Stichometrie auf 200 Zeilen angibt. Die Schrift stammt aus demselben Codex, dem wir den vollständigen Text der Clemensbriefe und eine bemerkenswerthe Verbesserung des Textes des Barnabasbriefes und der pseudoignatianischen Briefe verdanken, und sie wird uns von dem Auffinder und Herausgeber, dem Hrn. Metropolitens Bryennius von Nikomedien, zugleich mit ausführlichen Prolegomenen und einem sehr gelehrten Commentar geboten ¹⁾. Da ihr Inhalt ebenso bedeutsam als ihr Umfang gering ist, und da die Editio princeps einem großen Theil der Leser der Qu.-Schr. nicht zugänglich sein und eine andere Ausgabe nicht so bald erscheinen wird, so glauben wir die Schrift nicht bloß anzeigen, sondern zugleich in deutscher Sprache mittheilen zu sollen. Wir unterziehen uns zunächst letzterer Aufgabe und

1) *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροσολυμιτικοῦ χειρογράφου νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδιδομένη μετὰ προλεγομένων καὶ σημειώσεων, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῆς Συνόψεως τῆς Π. Δ., τῆς ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσόστομου, σύγκρισις καὶ μέρος ἀνέκδοτον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειρογράφου. Ὑπὸ Φιλοθέου Βρυεννίου μητροπολίτου Νικομηδείας. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει 1883.*

knüpfen an die möglichst wörtliche Uebersetzung einige Bemerkungen an.

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Lehre des Herrn [gegeben] ¹⁾ durch die zwölf Apostel den Heiden.

1. Es gibt zwei Wege, einen [Weg] des Lebens und einen des Todes, und es besteht eine große Verschiedenheit zwischen beiden Wegen. Der Weg des Lebens nun ist dieser. Erstens sollst du Gott lieben, deinen Schöpfer; zweitens deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst; und alles, was immer du willst, daß es dir nicht geschehe, das thue auch du einem anderen nicht. Die Lehre dieser Worte aber ist folgende: Segnet diejenigen, welche euch fluchen, und betet für eure Feinde, und fastet für diejenigen, welche euch verfolgen; denn welchen Lohn werdet ihr haben, wenn ihr [nur] die liebet, die euch lieben? Thun dasselbe nicht auch die Heiden? Ihr aber sollt die lieben, die euch hassen, und ihr sollt keinen Feind haben. Enthalte dich aller fleischlichen und weltlichen Begierden. Wenn dir jemand einen Schlag gibt auf die rechte Wange, so reiche ihm auch die andere dar, und du wirst vollkommen sein; wenn dich einer beansprucht auf eine Meile, gehe zwei mit ihm; wenn einer deinen Mantel nimmt gib ihm auch den Rock, wenn einer dir das Deinige nimmt, fordere es nicht zurück; denn du kannst es nicht. Gib jedem, der dich bittet, und fordere es nicht zurück; denn der Vater will, daß allen von den eigenen Gaben gegeben werde. Selig, wer gemäß dem Gebote gibt; denn er erleidet keine Strafe. Wehe dem, der nimmt;

1) Das in Klammern Stehende ist Zuthat des Uebersetzers.

denn wenn einer nimmt, der bedürftig ist, so wird er keine Strafe leiden. Wer aber nimmt, ohne bedürftig zu sein, wird Rechenschaft ablegen, warum er genommen und wozu, und in die Enge gekommen wird er geprüft werden über das, was er gethan, und er wird von da nicht herauskommen, bis er den letzten Heller bezahlt hat. Aber auch darüber ist gesagt worden: Dein Almosen schweige in deinen Händen, bis du weißt, wem du geben sollst.

2. Das zweite Gebot der Lehre aber [ist]: Du sollst nicht tödten, nicht die Ehe brechen, nicht Knaben schänden, nicht Unkeuschheit treiben, nicht stehlen, nicht Zauberei treiben, nicht Gift mischen, das Kind nicht morden durch Abortus, noch es tödten, wenn es geboren ist. Du sollst nicht begehren das Gut deines Nächsten, nicht schwören, kein falsches Zeugniß geben, nicht schmähen, nicht rachsüchtig sein. Du sollst nicht unbeständig sein noch doppelzüngig; denn eine Schlinge des Todes ist die Doppelzüngigkeit. Deine Rede sei nicht lügnerisch, nicht eitel, sondern gesättigt durch die That. Du sollst nicht habüchtig sein noch räuberisch, nicht heuchlerisch, nicht böseartig, nicht übermüthig. Du sollst keinen schlimmen Rath gegen deinen Nächsten annehmen. Du sollst niemand hassen, sondern die einen sollst du zurechtweisen, für die anderen beten, wieder andere lieben mehr als dein Leben.

3. Mein Kind, fliehe alles Böse und alles, was ihm ähnlich ist. Sei nicht zornig; denn der Zorn führt zum Mord; noch sei eifernd oder streitsüchtig oder aufbrausend; denn aus all dem entstehen Mordthaten. Mein Kind, sei nicht begehrlieh; denn die Begierde führt zur Unzucht; führe keine schmutzige Reden und sei nicht frech

mit den Augen; denn aus all dem entstehen Ehebrüche. Mein Kind, achte nicht auf die Vögel [zur Wahrsagerei]; denn das führt zum Götzendienste; sei kein Beschwörer oder Mathematiker noch treibe Reinigung [von Krankheit oder Sünde durch Opfer], noch wolle dergleichen sehen; denn aus all dem entsteht Götzendienst. Mein Kind, sei nicht lügnerisch; denn die Lüge führt zum Diebstahl; noch geldgierig oder ruhmstüchtig; denn aus all dem entstehen Diebstähle. Mein Kind, sei nicht mürrisch; denn das führt zur Lästerung; noch frech noch denke Schlimmes; denn aus all dem entstehen Lästerungen. Sei aber sanftmüthig; denn die Sanftmüthigen werden als Erbtheil besitzen das Land. Sei langmüthig und barmherzig und unschuldig und ruhig und gut und zittere immerdar vor den Worten, die du gehört hast. Du sollst dich nicht erheben noch sollst du deiner Seele Verwegenheit gestatten. Deine Seele soll sich nicht an die Hohen hängen, sondern du sollst mit den Gerechten und Niedrigen verkehren. Die Schicksale, die dir widerfahren, sollst du als gut aufnehmen, wissend, daß nichts ohne Gott geschieht.

4. Mein Kind, du wirst dessen bei Nacht und Tag eingedenk sein, der zu dir das Wort Gottes spricht, und du wirst ihn ehren wie den Herrn; denn von wo die Herrschaft genannt wird, da ist der Herr. Du wirst täglich aufsuchen das Angesicht der Heiligen, damit du dich ihrer Reden erfreuest. Du sollst keine Spaltung wünschen, die Streitenden vielmehr zum Frieden bringen. Du sollst gerecht richten, nicht auf die Person sehen, wenn du wegen Verfehlungen zurechtweist. Du sollst nicht zweifeln, ob es sein wird oder nicht. Du sollst deine Hände nicht zum Nehmen ausstrecken, zum Geben aber

zusammenziehen; wenn du hast, wirst Du geben mit deinen Händen [zur] Lösung deiner Sünden. Du sollst nicht zögern zu geben noch murren, wenn du gibst; denn du wirst erkennen, wer der gute Vergelter des Lohnes ist. Du wirst dich von dem Dürftigen nicht abwenden, sondern alles deinem Bruder mittheilen und nichts eigen nennen; denn wenn ihr Gemeinschaft habt im Unvergänglichen, um wie viel mehr in den vergänglichen Dingen? Du sollst deine Hand nicht hinwegnehmen von deinem Sohn oder von deiner Tochter, sondern [sie] von Jugend auf lehren die Furcht Gottes. Du sollst deinem Knecht oder deiner Magd, die auf denselben Gott hoffen, nicht befehlen in deiner Bitterkeit, damit sie nicht etwa von der Furcht gegen Gott lassen, der über beiden ist; denn er kommt nicht, um nach der Person zu berufen, sondern diejenigen, welche der Geist bereitet hat. Ihr Knechte aber seid unterwürfig euren Herren als dem Bild Gottes in Scheu und Furcht. Du sollst hassen alle Heuchelei und alles, was dem Herrn nicht gefällt. Du sollst nicht verlassen die Gebote des Herrn, sondern bewahren, was du empfangen hast, ohne hinzuzusetzen oder hinwegzunehmen. In der Versammlung sollst du bekennen deine Sünden und nicht zum Gebet hinzutreten mit schlechtem Gewissen. Das ist der Weg des Lebens.

5. Der Weg des Todes aber ist dieser: vor allem ist er schlecht und voll des Fluches; Mord, Ehebruch, Begierde, Hurerei, Diebstahl, Götzendienst, Zauberei, Giftmischerei, Raub, falsches Zeugniß, Heuchelei ¹⁾, Zweideutigkeit, Trug, Stolz, Bosheit, Anmaßung, Habsucht,

1) Der griechische Text hat bis hieher überall den Plural: φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι u. s. w.

schmutzige Rede, Eifersucht, Berwegenheit, Uebermuth, Schmeichelei; die Guten verfolgen ¹⁾, die Wahrheit hassen, die Lüge lieben, den Lohn der Gerechtigkeit nicht erkennen, nicht dem Guten anhängen noch dem gerechten Gerichte, nicht wachen zum Guten, sondern zum Schlechten, fern sein von Sanftmuth und Geduld, das Eitle lieben, nach Vergeltung jagen, mit dem Armen kein Mitleid haben, um den Niedergebeugten sich nicht bemühen, den Schöpfer nicht erkennen, die Kinder tödten, das Gebilde Gottes vernichten, von dem Dürstigen sich abwenden, den Bedrängten unterdrücken, die Reichen vertheidigen, gegen die Armen ungerechtes Gericht üben, sündigen in allem: befreit euch, Kinder, von alle dem.

6. Siehe zu, daß dich keiner wegführt von diesem Weg der Lehre, da er außerhalb Gott dich lehrt. Denn wenn du tragen kannst das ganze Joch des Herrn, wirst du vollkommen sein; wenn du es nicht kannst, so thue das, was du vermagst. Bezüglich der Speise aber trage, was du kannst; habe Acht gar sehr vor dem Gözenopfer; denn es ist Verehrung todter Götter.

7. In Betreff der Taufe aber, taufet also: wenn ihr all das Vorhergehende gesagt habt ²⁾, taufet auf den Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des hl. Geistes in fließendem ³⁾ Wasser. Wenn du kein fließendes Wasser hast, taufe in anderem Wasser; wenn du es nicht in kaltem kannst, in warmem. Wenn du beides nicht hast, so gieße

1) Statt des Infinitives hat der griechische Text im Folgenden überall das Substantiv oder Particip: διώκται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν u. s. w.

2) Wörtlich: wenn ihr all das vorher gesagt habt.

3) Wörtlich: lebendem.

auf das Haupt dreimal Wasser im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und hl. Geistes. Vor der Taufe aber faste, wer tauft und getauft wird und wenn noch einige andere es können. Dem Täufling wirst du befehlen, einen oder zwei Tage zu fasten.

8. Eure Fasten aber sollen nicht mit den Heuchlern sein; denn sie fasten am Montag und Donnerstag. Ihr sollt vielmehr am Mittwoch und Freitag fasten. Betet auch nicht wie die Heuchler, sondern wie der Herr in seinem Evangelium es geboten hat, so betet: Unser Vater, der du bist in dem Himmel, geheiligt werde dein Name, dein Reich komme, dein Wille geschehe wie im Himmel so auf Erden; unser tägliches Brod gib uns heute, und vergib uns unsere Schuld, wie auch wir vergeben unseren Schuldigern, und führe uns nicht in Versuchung, sondern erlöse uns von dem Uebel, weil dein ist die Macht und die Ehre in Ewigkeit. Dreimal des Tages betet so.

9. Was aber die Eucharistie anbelangt, so saget also Dank. Zuerst in Betreff des Trankes: Wir danken dir, unser Vater, für den heiligen Weinstock Davids deines Sohnes ¹⁾, den du uns kund gethan hast durch Jesus deinen Sohn ¹⁾; dir sei Ehre in Ewigkeit. In Betreff des gebrochenen Brotes ²⁾: Wir danken dir, unser Vater, für das Leben und die Kenntniß, die du uns hast erkennen lassen durch Jesus deinen Sohn; dir sei Ehre in Ewigkeit. Wie dieses Brot zerstreut war auf den Bergen ³⁾ und zusammengeführt eins wurde, so möge

1) Der griechische Text hat hier und im Folgenden fast immer *παῖς*.

2) Eigentlich: Brechens, *κλάσματος*.

3) Nämlich in den Körnern des Getreides.

deine Kirche zusammengeführt werden von den Grenzen der Erde in dein Reich, weil dein ist die Ehre und die Macht durch Jesus Christus in Ewigkeit. Keiner aber esse oder trinke von eurer Eucharistie, außer die getauft sind auf den Namen des Herrn; denn darüber hat der Herr gesagt: Gebet das Heilige nicht den Hunden.

10. Seid ihr aber gesättigt, so danket also: Wir danken dir, heiliger Vater, für deinen heiligen Namen, den du gepflanzt hast in unsere Herzen, und für die Kenntniß und den Glauben und die Auferstehlichkeit, die du uns hast erkennen lassen durch Jesus deinen Sohn; dir sei Ehre in Ewigkeit. Du, allmächtiger Herr, hast alles erschaffen um deines Namens willen; du gabst Speise und Trank den Menschen zum Genuß, damit sie dir Dank sagen; uns aber schenktest du geistliche Speise und Trank und ewiges Leben durch deinen Sohn. Vor allem danken wir dir, weil du mächtig bist; dir sei Ehre in Ewigkeit. Sei eingedenk, Herr, deiner Kirche, sie zu befreien von allem Bösen und sie zu vollenden in deiner Liebe, und versammle sie von den vier Winden, die geheiligte, in dein Reich, das du ihr bereitet hast, weil dein ist die Macht und die Ehre in Ewigkeit. Es komme die Gnade und diese Welt gehe dahin. Hosanna dem Sohne Davids. Wenn einer heilig ist, so trete er herzu; wenn er es nicht ist, thue er Buße. Maran Atha ¹⁾. Amen. Den Propheten aber gestattet Dank zu sagen, so viel sie wollen.

11. Wenn nun einer kommt und euch all das Vorhergesagte lehrt, so nimm ihn auf. Wenn aber der

1) D. i. der Herr kommt. Vgl. I Kor. 16, 22.

Lehrende selbst sich verirrend eine andere Lehre lehrt, so daß er [jene] auflöst, so höret ihn nicht; wenn er aber die Gerechtigkeit und Kenntniß des Herrn [in euch] vermehrt, so nimmt ihn auf wie den Herrn. In Betreff der Apostel aber und Propheten thut nach der Lehre des Evangeliums also. Jeder Apostel, der zu euch kommt, werde aufgenommen wie der Herr; er bleibe aber nicht länger als ¹⁾ einen Tag, und wenn es nöthig ist, auch den andern; wenn er aber drei [Tage] bleibt, ist er ein falscher Prophet. Geht der Apostel weiter, so nehme er nichts mit außer Brot bis zum nächsten Aufenthaltsort; wenn er aber Geld verlangt, ist er ein falscher Prophet. Und jeder Prophet, der im Geiste spricht, versuchet ihn nicht noch beurtheilet ihn; denn jede Sünde wird vergeben werden, diese Sünde aber wird nicht vergeben werden. Nicht jeder aber, der im Geiste spricht, ist ein Prophet, sondern [nur], wenn er den Wandel des Herrn hat. An seinem Wandel also wird der falsche und der wahre Prophet erkannt werden. Und jeder Prophet, der im Geiste [redend] einen Tisch bestellt, er wird nicht von ihm essen, er sei denn ein falscher Prophet. Jeder Prophet aber, der die Wahrheit spricht, wenn er nicht thut, was er lehrt, ist ein falscher Prophet. Jeder Prophet, bewährt und wahrhaftig, der in der Versammlung geheimnißvolle, weltliche Dinge verrichtet ²⁾, dabei aber nicht lehrt, man solle thun, was er selbst thut, soll nicht von euch gerichtet werden;

1) Im Codex, bezw. in der Ausgabe fehlt *εἰ μὴ* vor *ἡμέραν*, das nach der Parallelstelle c. 12 nothwendig zu ergänzen ist.

2) So deutet Duchesne die Stelle (Bull. crit. 1884 p. 93). Der Text lautet: *ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας*, ist aber ohne Zweifel corrupt.

denn er hat sein Gericht bei Gott; denn solches thaten auch die alten Propheten. Wenn einer im Geiste [redend] sagt: Gib mir Geld oder etwas anderes, höret ihn nicht; wenn er aber sagt, man solle für andere geben, die bedürftig sind, so richte ihn keiner.

12. Jeder, der kommt im Namen des Herrn, werde aufgenommen. Hernach aber werdet ihr ihn prüfen und erkennen; denn ihr sollet Rechts und Links unterscheiden ¹⁾. Ist der Kommende ein Vorüberreisender, so unterstützet ihn, so viel ihr könnet; er wird aber bei euch nicht länger als zwei oder drei Tage bleiben, wenn es nöthig ist. Will er sich aber bei euch niederlassen und ist er ein Handwerker, so arbeite er und esse; versteht er kein Handwerk, so sorgt für ihn nach eurer Einsicht, wie er, ohne müßig zu sein, unter euch als Christ leben soll. Wenn er aber nicht so thun will, dann treibt er mit Christus Handel. Habt Acht vor dergleichen Leuten.

13. Jeder wahrhaftige Prophet, der sich bei euch niederlassen will, ist seines Unterhaltes werth. Ebenso ist ein wahrhaftiger Lehrer, wie der Arbeiter, auch selbst werth seines Unterhaltes. Alle Erstlinge nun der Erträgnisse der Kelter und Tenne, der Rinder und Schafe wirst du nehmen und den Propheten geben; denn sie sind eure Hohenpriester. Habt ihr aber keinen Propheten, dann gebet [sie] den Armen. Wenn du Speise bereitest, so nimm die Erstlinge und gib sie dem Gebot gemäß. Ebenso wenn du einen Krug Wein oder Del öffnest, nimm den Anbruch und gib ihn dem Propheten. Und von Geld

1) Wörtlich: ihr werdet rechte und linke Einsicht haben.

und Kleidung und allem Besigthum nimm die Erstlinge, wie es dir gut dünkt, und gib gemäß dem Gebote.

14. Am Tag des Herrn ¹⁾ aber sollt ihr euch versammeln und das Brot brechen und Dank sagen, nachdem ihr [zuvor] eure Sünden bekannt habt, auf daß euer Opfer rein sei. Jeder aber, der Streit hat mit seinem Freunde, der komme nicht mit euch zusammen, bis sie sich versöhnt haben, damit euer Opfer nicht verunreinigt wird; denn das ist das [Wort], was der Herr gesprochen hat: An jedem Orte und zu jeder Zeit [soll man] mir ein reines Opfer darbringen; denn ein großer König bin ich, spricht der Herr, und mein Name ist wunderbar unter den Völkern.

15. Bestellet ²⁾ euch ferner Episkopen und Diakonen, würdig des Herrn, Männer, die sanftmüthig sind und fern von Geldgier und wahrhaftig und erprobt; denn euch leisten auch sie den Dienst der Propheten und Lehrer. Verachtet sie also nicht; denn sie sind die Geehrten unter euch mit den Propheten und Lehrern ³⁾.

Weiset einander zurecht nicht in Zorn, sondern im Frieden, wie ihr es in dem Evangelium habt; und wenn sich einer gegen den Nächsten vergeht, so spreche keiner mit ihm noch höre er [ihn] bei euch, bis er sich gebessert hat. Eure Gebete aber und Almosen und alle Handlungen verrichtet so, wie ihr es in dem Evangelium eures Herrn findet.

16. Wacht für euer Leben. Eure Lampen sollen nicht erlöschen, und eure Lenden sollen nicht entgürtet

1) Wörtlich: Sonntag des Herrn.

2) *Χειροτονήσατε.*

3) *Οἱ τετιμημένοι ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν κ. δ.*

werden, sondern seid bereit; denn ihr kennt nicht die Stunde, in welcher unser Herr kommt. Häufig aber sollt ihr euch versammeln, suchend, was euren Seelen noth thut; denn nichts wird euch nützen die ganze Zeit eures Glaubens, wenn ihr nicht in der letzten Zeit vollkommen werdet. Denn in den letzten Tagen werden sich mehren die falschen Propheten und die Verderber, und die Schafe werden sich in Wölfe verkehren und die Liebe wird sich in Haß verkehren; denn wenn die Ungerechtigkeit zunimmt, werden sie einander hassen und verfolgen und überliefern, und dann wird erscheinen der Weltversführer gleichsam als der Sohn Gottes und er wird Zeichen und Wunder thun, und die Erde wird in seine Hände übergeben werden, und er wird Frevel verüben, wie sie seit Ewigkeit niemals geschehen sind. Dann wird das Geschlecht ¹⁾ der Menschen in das Feuer der Prüfung kommen und viele werden sich ärgern und zu Grunde gehen; die aber ausharren in ihrem Glauben, werden gerettet werden ²⁾. Und dann werden erscheinen die Zeichen der Wahrheit: erstens das Zeichen der Oeffnung am Himmel, dann das Zeichen der Stimme der Posaune, und drittens die Auferstehung der Todten, jedoch nicht aller, sondern wie gesagt ist: Es wird kommen der Herr und alle Heiligen mit ihm. Dann wird die Welt den Herrn kommen sehen auf den Wolken des Himmels.

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1) *Κτίσις*.

2) Der griechische Text fügt bei: *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος*. Aber was heißt das? Brhennius vermuthet, *κατάθεμα* (= *κατὰθεμα*) bedeute Christus, sofern die Verworfenen ihn verwünschen werden; oder es sei zu lesen: *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κάτω θέματος*, d. i. *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*.

So der Wortlaut der D. A. Wie man sieht, zerfällt die Schrift in zwei nicht ganz gleiche Theile. Der erste Theil c. 1—6 ist eine einfache Unterweisung in der christlichen Sittenlehre, und er fällt in der Hauptsache mit den Capiteln 18—20 des Barnabasbriefes zusammen. Doch ist der Inhalt der beiden Schriften nicht ganz derselbe, und was noch wichtiger ist, die Reihenfolge der Sentenzen ist vielfach eine verschiedene. Was jenen Punkt anbelangt, so findet man in jeder der beiden Schriften einzelne Sätze, die in der anderen nicht stehen. In der D. A. ist indessen das Eigenthümliche beträchtlicher als in B. Sie hat zwei größere Stücke, die hier fehlen, nämlich die Worte: Alles was du nicht willst u. s. w. bis an das Ende des ersten Capitels, bezw. den größeren Theil dieses Capitels, sowie den Anfang und größeren Theil des dritten Capitels, den Abschnitt, in dem die Quellen der Hauptsünden des Mordes, Ehebruches, Götzendienstes, Diebstahls und der Lästerung aufgezeigt werden. Bezüglich der Reihenfolge der Sentenzen ist vor allem an Folgendes zu erinnern. In der D. A. stehen die beiden Gebote der Gottes- und der Nächstenliebe zusammen voran. In B sind sie von einander getrennt (19, 2. 5) und die übrigen Gebote sind in der Hauptsache so an sie angereiht, daß jene gewissermaßen als Eintheilungsprincip erscheinen. Freilich ist die Eintheilung nicht streng durchgeführt. Wir finden im ersten Theil einzelnes, was mehr dem zweiten angehört, wie die Vorschrift, keinen schlechten Rath gegen den Nächsten anzunehmen (B. 3) und dem Bruder die Beleidigung nicht nachzutragen (4), und umgekehrt, wie die Vorschrift, die Schicksale als aus Gottes Hand kommend als etwas Gutes hinzunehmen (6). Aber im ganzen erscheint der

Stoff doch in der fraglichen Weise angeordnet, und es dürfte nicht ohne Bedeutung sein, wenn unmittelbar vor dem Gebot der Nächstenliebe die Worte stehen: du sollst den Namen des Herrn nicht eitel nennen, der von der Gottesliebe handelnde Theil also mit diesem Gebote schließt. Die fraglichen Punkte fallen ferner auch deswegen gegen unsere Annahme weniger ins Gewicht, weil die Gedankenfolge in B. überhaupt und auch in den einzelnen Theilen für sich looser und weniger geordnet ist als in D. A. In dieser sind z. B. die auf die Wohlthätigkeit bezüglichen Sentenzen c. 4 p. 19—21 alle zu einem geschlossenen Ganzen zusammengestellt. In B finden wir sie auseinandergerissen an drei Orten (19, 8. 9. 11). Dort finden wir ferner c. 4 p. 22 die zusammengehörigen Gebote: alles zu hassen, was dem Herrn nicht gefällt, und die Gebote des Herrn nicht zu verlassen, sondern das Empfangene ohne Zusatz und ohne Schmälerung zu bewahren, wiederum in unmittelbarer Aufeinanderfolge. Hier stehen sie wiederum und zwar sehr weit (19, 2. 11) auseinander, und die Folge der Trennung ist, daß die zweite Sentenz (*φυλάξεις, ἃ παρέλαβες*) in ihrer Isolirtheit kaum verständlich ist. Ähnlich verhält es sich mit anderen Stellen. Nur in einem größeren Stück ist die Aufeinanderfolge der Sentenzen im wesentlichen die gleiche, in der Beschreibung des Weges der Sünde, näherhin in der zweiten und längeren Hälfte dieses Abschnittes von *διῶνται ἀγαθῶν* an.

Ist der erste Theil der D. A. ebensowohl vermöge seines Inhaltes als weil er im wesentlichen schon bisher bekannt war, von geringerer Bedeutung, so ist dagegen der zweite mit c. 7 beginnende Abschnitt von größter

Wichtigkeit. Er gibt uns vor allem über die nähere Bestimmung des ersten Theiles Aufschluß, indem aus den Anfangsworten hervorgeht, daß derselbe für den Unterricht derjenigen bestimmt war, welche in die christliche Kirche aufgenommen zu werden wünschten, der Katechumenen, ein Wort, das übrigens in der Schrift selbst noch nicht vorkommt. An sich aber läßt sich der Abschnitt gewissermaßen als ein kirchliches Rituale oder als eine Kirchenordnung bezeichnen. Er handelt der Natur der Sache entsprechend und anknüpfend an den ersten Theil zunächst von der Taufe. Das Fasten vor der Taufe gibt Veranlassung, ein kurzes Wort über diese Uebung im allgemeinen beizufügen, und da hier als Gegensatz die Praxis der „Heuchler“ oder Pharisäer berücksichtigt wird, folgt mit Rücksicht auf den gleichen Gegensatz eine Belehrung über das Gebet. Die Capitel 9—10 handeln von der Eucharistie, und zwar mit Voranstellung des Weines vor dem Brote, wie ähnlich Luk. 12, 14—18 und I Kor. 10, 16—21. Wir begegnen hier den ältesten schriftlich fixirten liturgischen Gebeten. Wir erfahren aber auch zugleich, daß nicht alle an diese Gebete gebunden waren, daß es vielmehr Personen gab, welche in freier Weise Dank sagen durften, so wie der Geist es ihnen eingab, die Propheten. Die auf diesen Punkt bezügliche Bemerkung gibt Anlaß, von der Aufnahme und Behandlung der Propheten und Apostel, bezw. Lehrer sowie der einfachen Christen zu reden, die gleich jenen von auswärts her in eine Gemeinde kommen, sei es zu einem vorübergehenden, sei es zu einem bleibenden Aufenthalt (c. 11—13), und nach dieser Digression folgt der Schluß der Auseinandersetzung über die Eucharistie (c. 14). Besonders bemerkenswerth ist hier die Erwähnung eines dem

hl. Mahle vorangehenden Sündenbekenntnisses. Daran reiht sich die Bemerkung über die Bestellung von Gemeindevorständen sowie ein Wort über die brüderliche Zurechtweisung. Den Schluß macht endlich die Ermahnung zur Wachsamkeit mit Hinweis auf die letzten Dinge.

Gehen wir von der Analyse der Schrift zu der Bestimmung ihrer Zeit über, so ist zunächst zu bemerken, daß sie namentlich allerdings erst durch Eusebius erwähnt wird, und auch von ihm nicht ganz in dem richtigen Titel, indem er von *τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδασκαί* (H. E. III c. 25) redet. Indessen kann es ebensowenig einem Zweifel unterliegen, daß Eusebius unsere Schrift mit jenen Worten meinte, da sie bald nachher von Athanasius als *Διδαχή* aufgeführt wird, als daß die Schrift damals schon lange Zeit vorhanden war. Die Bemerkung des Clemens von Alexandrien Strom. I c. 20: *Οὗτος* (sc. *ὁ ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις πόνοις καυχώμενος*) *κλέπτης ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς εἴρηται· φησὶ γοῦν· Υἱέ, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης, ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα πρὸς τὴν κλοπὴν*, setzte die D. A. voraus, da die Worte der „Schrift“ hier (c. 4) sich finden, ausgenommen allein das *υἱέ*, statt dessen wir *τέκνον μου* lesen, und die weitere Schrift, die die Worte ebenfalls enthält, die s. g. apostolische Kirchenordnung (Hilgenfeld, Evang. sec. Hebr. etc. p. 98), sicherlich jünger ist. Die Schrift war also um das Jahr 200 vorhanden, und sie entstand geraume Zeit vor diesem Termin, da sie von Clemens als „Schrift“ citirt wird. Auch ihr Inhalt weist auf einen sehr frühen Ursprung hin. Sie hat durchweg ein so alterthümliches Gepräge und sie bezieht sich auf so primitive kirchliche Verhältnisse, daß sie der Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts eher voran-

als nachzusetzen ist. Wie weit sie aber über diesen Termin hinaufzurücken ist, hat ihre Vergleichung mit dem Pastor Hermä und dem Barnabasbrief zu zeigen, mit denen sie sich so nahe berührt, daß eine unmittelbare Abhängigkeit in dieser oder jener Richtung anzunehmen ist.

Bryennius läßt die D. A. von beiden Schriften abhängen und er setzt ihre Entstehung auf 120—160 an. Durchschlagende Gründe für die Auffassung liegen indessen nicht vor. Am allerwenigsten ist die Priorität des Pastor gegenüber der D. A. bewiesen. Derselbe berührt sich mit ihr hauptsächlich Mand. II mit seiner Lehre vom Almosengeben und Mand. XI mit seiner Auseinandersetzung über den falschen Propheten. Dort trifft er mit ihr zum Theil auch wörtlich zusammen, wie folgende Gegenüberstellung zeigt:

D. A. c. 1 p. 7 sq.

Πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατήρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. Μακάριος ὁ διδὼν κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν· ἀθῶος γὰρ ἐστίν. Οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἀθῶος ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί.

P. H. M. II, 4. 5.

Πᾶσιν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δίδοσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων. Οἱ οὖν λαμβάνοντες ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ θεῷ, διατί ἔλαβον καὶ εἰς τί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες θλιβόμενοι οὐ δικασθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνοντες τίσουσιν δίκην. Ὁ οὖν διδὼν ἀθῶός ἐστιν.

Aber was folgt daraus für das Verhältniß beider Schriften? Offenbar kann der Pastor ebenso gut von der D. A. abhängig sein als diese von ihm, und wenn wir an die Verwendung der D. A. zum Katechumenenunterricht denken, wenn wir ferner erwägen, daß der Pastor nach der wahrscheinlicheren Annahme erst um die Mitte des zweiten

Jahrhunderts entstanden ist, so spricht die größere Wahrscheinlichkeit für die Priorität der D. A. ¹⁾).

Indessen dürfte die D. A. nicht bloß dem Pastor Hermä, sondern auch dem Barnabasbrief vorangehen, und zwar aus folgendem Grunde. Es wurde bereits oben darauf hingewiesen, daß inhaltlich zusammengehörige Sätze in B mehrfach auseinandergerissen sind. Es erhebt sich daher die Frage, ob es wahrscheinlicher ist, daß die betreffenden Sentenzen ursprünglich mit einander verbunden waren, so wie sie auch inhaltlich zusammengehören, und erst später auseinandergerissen wurden, oder daß sie ursprünglich die unnatürliche Stellung erhielten, in der wir sie in B antreffen, und erst durch einen Dritten mit Kunst in die bessere Reihenfolge gebracht wurden, in der sie die D. A. aufweist? Bisher hat man zwar die Frage fast einstimmig im Sinn der Priorität von B entschieden, und wenn die Frage nur so allgemein gestellt wird, ist die Möglichkeit nicht zu bestreiten, daß eine ursprünglich mangelhafte Darstellung später in eine bessere Ordnung gebracht wurde. Anders aber stellt sich die Sache dar, sobald wir sie näher ins Auge fassen.

Bleiben wir bei den obigen Beispielen (S. 395), und fragen wir, ob wohl anzunehmen sei, daß der Schriftsteller, von dem die Sentenzen über die Wohlthätigkeit ursprünglich herrühren, sie in der zerrissenen Form in B dargestellt

1) Auch J. W., der die D. A. im Londoner Guardian Nr. 1998 zur Anzeige brachte, betrachtet Hermas als den borgenden Theil. Ebenso „wagt“ er die Schrift dem Barnabasbrief mit Rücksicht auf dessen weiter vorgerückte Christologie voranzustellen, ohne aber das Verhältniß näher zu verfolgen. Er hält die Benützung des Barnabasbriefes durch D. A. nur für ziemlich unwahrscheinlich.

habe, oder ob es nicht vielmehr wahrscheinlicher sei, daß er die Darstellung in der D. A. geliefert habe? Und wenn dieses Beispiel nicht genügt, so frage man weiter, ob das *φυλάξεις ἃ παρέλαβες*, so wie es in B steht, getrennt und weit getrennt von den Worten, die eigentlich keinen Sinn bestimmen, von einem Originalschriftsteller herrühren könne? Die Antwort kann nicht zweifelhaft sein. Die D. A. ist Original und Vorlage von B, nicht umgekehrt. Freilich erwächst bei dieser Auffassung die Schwierigkeit, daß nach ihr die ursprünglich bessere Ordnung durch einen Späteren verschlechtert wurde. Sie ist indessen nicht so groß und unüberwindlich als diejenige, die sich im umgekehrten Fall ergibt, und bezüglich ihrer Lösung ist vor allem an das zu erinnern, was oben in Betreff der Eintheilung des 19. Capitels von B bemerkt wurde. Wenn Barnabas den Stoff nach den Gesichtspunkten der Gottes- und der Nächstenliebe scheiden wollte, so begreift sich unmittelbar, warum er die Worte *μισήσεις πάν ὃ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀρεστὸν τῷ θεῷ* und *οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπης ἐντολὰς κυρίου* in den ersten Theil seiner Auseinandersetzung stellte. Daß er die in der D. A. auf sie folgenden Worte *φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ παρέλαβες* von ihnen trennte, beweist andererseits allerdings ein großes Ungeschick. Aber ist denn Barnabas ein Schriftsteller, an den hohe Anforderungen zu stellen sind? Und wäre er dieses nach anderweitigen Leistungen, ist hier die Sache nicht so durchaus klar, daß wir ihn wenigstens in diesem Theil von einem groben Mißgriff nicht freisprechen können?

Haben wir das Verhältniß der beiden Schriften in dem Vorstehenden richtig bestimmt, so sind wir der Zeit der D. A. zugleich um einen bedeutenden Schritt näher

gekommen. Der Barnabasbrief gehört nach den Ausführungen, die ich kürzlich in der Qu.-Schr. gab, dem Ende des ersten Jahrhunderts an, und somit ist rund das Jahr 100 der terminus ad quem in unserer Frage. Welches ist aber weiter der terminus a quo? Ich getraue mir nicht, ihn näher zu bestimmen, da man bezüglich seiner doch nicht über bloße Vermuthungen hinauskommt. Bei dem Ergebniß, das wir gewonnen haben, liegt auch wenig daran, ob er einige Jahre mehr oder weniger von dem terminus ad quem entfernt ist. In allen Fällen gehört die D. A. noch dem ersten Jahrhundert an, und da auch der Clemensbrief erst gegen Ende dieses Jahrhunderts entstanden ist, so ist sie ohne Zweifel die älteste christliche Schrift, die wir außer den biblischen Schriften besitzen ¹⁾.

Fragen wir endlich nach der Heimath der Schrift, so dürfte am ehesten an Aegypten zu denken sein, und zwar hauptsächlich aus dem Grunde, weil sie zuerst und ohne Zweifel nicht lange nach ihrer Entstehung durch den Verfasser des Barnabasbriefes benützt wurde, der aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ebenfalls in diesem Lande zu suchen ist. Man hat zwar geglaubt, daß die Verordnung, bei der Taufe unter Umständen warmes Wasser anzuwenden, auf ein kälteres Klima hinweise, und weil Nordsyrien und Kleinasien wegen der früheren Ausbildung der Kirchenverfassung in diesen Ländern nicht sollen in Betracht kommen können, die Schrift Griechenland oder Macedonien, näher-

1) J. W. kommt im Guardian zu einer ähnlichen Datirung selbst im Fall der Priorität des Barnabasbriefes, indem er diesen, freilich schwerlich richtig, auf das Jahr 80 ansetzt.

hin Korinth, Athen oder Philippi zuerkennen wollen ¹⁾. Die Begründung dürfte indessen nicht stichhaltig sein, da bei kränklichen und schwächlichen Leuten auch in den südlicheren Ländern das Wasser bei der Taufe unter Umständen noch künstlich zu erwärmen sein wird.

Es gebricht mir augenblicklich an Zeit, noch weiter auf die Sache einzugehen. Ein Punkt sei aber noch kurz hervorgehoben. Die Auffindung der D. A. nöthigt uns, unsere bisherige Ansicht von der Entstehung der apostolischen Constitutionen zu ändern. Ein oder vielmehr der Hauptgrund, aus dem bisher ein successiver Ursprung dieses Werkes angenommen wurde, erweist sich jetzt als hinfällig. Die von Eusebius erwähnten *Διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων* sind nicht auf letzteres, bezw. dessen sechs erste Bücher zu beziehen; sie sind ein eigenes, bisher unbekanntes, aber jetzt bekanntes Werk, und bei diesem Sachverhalt steht der Annahme einer einheitlichen Abfassung, bezw. Redaction der Constitutionen schwerlich ein ernstliches Hinderniß entgegen, da die auf die ersten sechs Bücher sich beschränkenden apostolischen Didaskalien in syrischer, arabischer und äthiopischer Sprache nicht so fast als Vorlage des Werkes als vielmehr als Auszug aus demselben zu betrachten sind. Vgl. darüber die Bemerkungen in Lit. Rundschau 1884 No. 4.

1) J. W. im Guardian. — Hilgenfeld. B. f. w. Th. 1884 S. 371, schlägt bei der S. 393 Anm. 2 als zweifelhaft behandelten Stelle vor, st. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος zu lesen ἀπ' κτλ. Demgemäß wäre zu übersetzen: sie werden gerettet werden von dem Fluche.

EVERYBODY will be interested in the opinion of so competent a scholar as Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, respecting the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." At the meeting of the Church Congress at Carlisle, he read a paper on recent biblical research, which gave him excellent opportunity to speak of the Bryennios manuscript. He says its interest and importance have far exceeded our highest expectations. It proves to be the basis of the Seventh Book of the Apostolic Constitutions; but this is the least of its significant points. Its great value is in the light which it throws on the infancy of the Church. Dr. Lightfoot agrees with the English and German critics in placing its origin between A. D. 80—110, instead of the later date, 140—160, assigned it by Bryennios. As to its ecclesiastical significance he says:

"We have both an itinerant and a localized ministry, the former consisting mainly of apostles and prophets, and the functions of the two shading off into one another, so that it is not easy to draw the line between them; and the localized ministry is confined to two orders, who are called bishops and deacons, as in the Epistle to the Philippians and elsewhere in the Apostolic writings. Where our document has 'bishops and deacons,' the latter work in the corresponding passage substitutes 'bishops, presbyters, and deacons.' Thus, when our author wrote, 'bishop' still remained a synonym for 'presbyter,' and the episcopal office properly so-called, did not exist in the district in which he lived. Now there is no distinct trace of this first state of things—the itinerant ministry side by side with the localized—after the Apostolic writings, not even in the Apostolic Fathers."

The learned Bishop has no doubt of its genuineness. He says no one could or would have forged it. It serves no party's interests, and pleases nobody, and is to be accepted as the private venture of some one who desires to set forth his views on moral conduct and Church order, believing them to represent the mind of the Apostles. The Bishop then points out the sources of the quotations in the document:

"The Lord's Prayer is given at length, numerous sayings from the Sermon on the Mount and elsewhere are introduced, the baptismal formula is quoted. Occasionally, also, we come across echoes of the characteristic language of St. Luke. Coincidences with St. John are less close. With St. Paul's Epistles, again, the writer shows an acquaintance. Coincidences with four of these—Romans, I. Corinthians, Ephesians, and II. Thessalonians—indicate a free use of the Apostle's writings. The picture of the Christian ministry, again, is the continuation of the state of things represented in St. Paul's Epistles. Remembering that the whole work occupies only a little more than six octavo pages, we are surprised at the amount of testimony, certainly much more than we had any right to expect, which it bears to the canon of the New Testament. Moreover, its evidence has a negative value, also. In his introduction to the 'Study of the Gospels,' Dr. Westcott has brought together all the traditional sayings of Christ, and the result shows how very little was reported outside the canonical gospels. This result is confirmed by the document before us."

Those who, like the Episcopal scholar of Nashotah, attempt to show that Audæus was the author or forger of the "Teaching" in the fourth century, will have a long task, and a small company of adherents.

EVERYBODY will be interested in the opinion of so competent a scholar as Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, respecting the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." At the meeting of the Church Congress at Carlisle, he read a paper on recent biblical research, which gave him excellent notice.

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in reporter January 1885

J.

B. Lightfoot.



RESULTS OF RECENT HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH UPON NEW TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES.¹

WHEN I took counsel with myself how I should treat the subject intrusted to me, and what limitations I should fix to the range of topics included in my paper, I soon found that I had no choice. The boundary line was distinctly traced out for me by circumstances.

At the Reading Congress a year ago a paper was read on this very subject by an able Oxford Professor—avowedly a continuation of an inaugural lecture which he had recently delivered in the University. In these two papers he had traversed the whole ground up to the date of the last Congress, and no more competent guide in this province could be found. The term "recent" therefore, though sufficiently elastic in itself, must receive a very strict interpretation from me. I am constrained to confine myself to the discoveries published within the last twelve months. But I take courage in a prophetic passage which I find in the able and exhaustive summary by Professor Sanday, to which I have already referred. "After all," he writes, "we are only picking up the gleanings of bygone ages. We are not reaping a harvest on virgin soil, and yet of late the very gleanings have been so rich, that we cannot refrain from hoping that those which lie before us in the immediate

¹ Read at the Carlisle Church Congress, 1884, and revised, with additions, by the Author.

'future may be not less so.'" This hope has not been disappointed.

Having thus restricted the sphere of discussion, I shall confine myself to two recent discoveries of great interest and importance for the earliest history of Christianity.

I. I will ask you first to accompany me to Asia Minor. It is plain that the students of early Christian history are yet very far from recognising the extreme importance of a thorough investigation of this region. Otherwise there would be no lack of funds to sustain such explorations as those carried on by Mr. Wood at Ephesus and Mr. Ramsay in Phrygia. Asia Minor was the principal scene of St. Paul's missionary labours; it was likewise the chief focus of Christian thought and action in the second century. Yet Asia Minor teems with undiscovered records of the past. It would only be an innocent exaggeration if I were to say that every spadeful of soil turned up would reveal some secret of antiquity. It should be remembered also that in these regions Christianity courted publicity with a boldness of face which it did not venture to assume elsewhere. Thus we may expect to find there not a few memorials of the earliest Christian times buried under the accumulated rubbish of ages. Even where no distinct Christian records are attainable, the contemporary heathen monuments have often the highest value in verifying, interpreting, and illustrating the notices in the Bible or in early Christian history. Let me give one single illustration, showing how an accidental discovery, trivial in itself and apparently alien to all the interests of the ecclesiastical historian, may lead to results of the highest moment. Among the stones disinterred a few years ago by Mr. Wood at Ephesus, was one containing the name and date of a certain obscure proconsul Julianus. Now this proconsul happens to be mentioned in the heathen rhetorician Aristides. Thus M. Waddington was enabled to correct and revise the chrono-

logy of Aristides' life. But it so happens that Aristides elsewhere refers to another proconsul Quadratus—the same who presided at the martyrdom of Polycarp. With these data M. Waddington fixed the time of Polycarp's death some twelve years before the received date, and the inferential consequences, as affecting Polycarp's relations with St. John and thus bearing on the continuity of Church doctrine and practice, have the highest value. More recently the labours of Mr. Ramsay, who has explored the comparatively untrodden regions of Phrygia with the eye of a scholar and antiquarian, have thrown a flood of light on the ecclesiastical arrangements of the district; and still greater things may yet be expected from their continuance, if the necessary funds are forthcoming. In the course of one season he discovered about a dozen Christian monumental inscriptions belonging to the second and third centuries, and dating from the reign of Hadrian onward. To one of these sepulchral inscriptions, second to no early monument of Christianity in interest, I desire to direct your attention. Though not having a very immediate bearing on the Scriptures, yet indirectly, as indicating the common beliefs and practices of the Christians in these early ages, it has the highest significance. In the spurious *Life of Abercius*, Bishop of Hierapolis, as given by the Metaphrast, an inscription is incorporated professing to have been written by the saint for his tomb in his own lifetime. Though much corrupted and written continuously as if it were prose, it is easily seen to fall into hexameter verses. In the course of his explorations in 1883, Mr. Ramsay discovered *in situ* a portion of this very epitaph inscribed on an altar-shaped tomb, not however at Hierapolis on the Mæander, but at Hieropolis, a more obscure city near Synnada.¹ As it

¹ The results of Mr. Ramsay's explorations will be found in two articles in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. *The Tale of Abercius*, 1882, pp. 339 sq., and *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1883, pp. 424 sq.

answers in all other respects to the notices in the *Life of Abercius*, Hierapolis in the existing text of this *Life* is plainly a corruption for Hieropolis. Thus, from being merely a critical puzzle, this epitaph henceforward ranks as a historical monument. Though comprising only twenty-two lines, it is full of matter illustrating the condition and usages of the Church in the latter half of the second century. Abercius declares himself to be a disciple of the pure Shepherd, who feeds his flocks on mountains and plains. This Shepherd is described as having great eyes which look on every side. As we read this description, we may well imagine it drawn from some pictorial representation of the Good Shepherd which the writer had seen in the Roman catacombs or elsewhere. But however this may be, the underlying theology and the reference to the imagery in St. John's Gospel will be obvious. The author says likewise that the Shepherd taught him "faithful writings," meaning doubtless the Evangelical narratives and the Apostolic Epistles. He further sent him to royal Rome, where he saw the golden-robed, golden-sandalled queen, and a people wearing a bright seal. The queen and the seal have been interpreted literally—the one being identified with Faustina, the consort of Marcus Aurelius, and the other explained of the signet rings worn by the higher orders, the senators and knights, among the Romans. On the foundation of this supposed interview with the empress, a legendary story, full of portentous miracles, has been piled. But we can hardly be wrong in giving a figurative explanation to these incidents in accordance with the general character of the epitaph. The queen will then be the Church of the imperial city, and the people wearing the seal will be the Christian brethren signed by baptism. The writer further tells us that he went to Syria, and crossed the Euphrates, visiting Nisibis. Everywhere he found comrades—that is, fellow-Christians. Faith led the

way, and following her guidance he took Paul for his companion—or, in other words, the Epistles of the Apostle were his constant study. Wherever he went, his guide set before him for food fish from the fountain. The fountain here, it is hardly necessary to say, is baptism, and the fish is the Divine *ΙΧΘΥΣ*, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour; so that this is perhaps the earliest example of the acrostic which afterwards became common. This fish is further described as “exceeding large and clean,” and as having been grasped by a pure virgin. Faith gives this fish to her “friends to eat continually, offering good wine, and giving a mixed cup with bread.” It is needless to dwell on the picture which is here presented. The miraculous Incarnation, the omniscient omnipresent energy of Christ, the Scriptural writings, the two Sacraments, the extension and catholicity of the Church—all stand out in definite outline and vivid colours, only the more striking because this is no systematic exposition of the theologian, but the chance expression of a devout Christian soul. A light is thus flashed in upon the inner life of the Christian Church in this remote Phrygian city. But I would call your attention more especially to two points. First. The writer describes himself as in his seventy-second year when he composes this epitaph. If it was written, as there is good reason to believe, as early as the reign of Commodus, or perhaps even earlier, he must have been born not later than about A.D. 120—some twenty years after the death of St. John, who passed the last decades of his life in Ephesus, the capital of this same province. Thus he would be reared amidst the still fresh traditions of the last surviving Apostle. Secondly. He visits the far West and the far East, and everywhere he finds not only the same Church and the same sacraments, but also, as we may infer from his language, the same, or substantially the same, theology. His faith was the faith of the Catholic Church. This monument

therefore is another stubborn protest against certain modern theories of early Christian history. Each fresh discovery is a fresh nail driven into the coffin of Tübingen speculation.

II. From this interesting monumental epitaph I turn to a record of a wholly different kind. When in the year 1875 Bryennios, then Bishop of Serræ, published for the first time, from a manuscript at Constantinople, the two Epistles of Clement complete, he gave a list of the other contents of the same volume. Among these was a work entitled *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*. As a work of this name is mentioned by Eusebius and others among early apocryphal writings, a hope was excited in the minds of those interested in such studies, that this might be the book alluded to, and that it would throw some light on the vexed question of the origin of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. Eight or nine years however elapsed, and no more was heard of it. At length, at the close of last year (1883), it was given to the world. Its interest and importance have far exceeded our highest expectations. It is found indeed to be the basis of the seventh book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*; but this is the smallest item in our gain. Its chief value consists in the light which it throws on the condition of the infant Church. We are met however with this preliminary difficulty, that it does not carry its date on its face, and we must have recourse to critical inferences in establishing its age. There can be little or no question however, that it is not only the work mentioned by Eusebius, but also the work quoted by Clement of Alexandria as “scripture.” In the absence of any direct indication, it has been placed as late as A.D. 140–160 by Bryennios, but I do not doubt that we should be more near the mark in dating it with most English and some German critics somewhere between A.D. 80–110. The reasons are briefly these. In the first place, the Eucharist still remains part of the *Agape*. This follows from the fact that, in connexion with the Eucharistic prayers, directions

are given about what is to be done when the persons present “are filled,” “are satisfied.” But the separation of the two seems to have taken place about the time of the Bithynian persecution under Pliny (A.D. 112); and in the age of Justin Martyr they are evidently distinct. In the corresponding passage of the later work, the *Apostolical Constitutions*, the words “after they are filled” are replaced by “after their participation,” the alteration of usage requiring an alteration of phrase. Again, the picture which it exhibits of the Christian ministry suggests a very early date. The points to be observed are twofold. *First*, as in St. Paul’s account in the First Epistle to the Corinthians and in the Epistle to the Ephesians, so here also we have both an itinerant and a localised ministry—the former consisting mainly of apostles and prophets, and the functions of the two shading off into one another, so that it is not easy to draw the line between them; and, *secondly*, the localised ministry is confined to two orders, who are called bishops and deacons, as in the Epistle to the Philippians and elsewhere in the Apostolic writings. Here again the comparison with the *Apostolical Constitutions* is suggestive. Where our document has “bishops and deacons,” the later work in the corresponding passage substitutes “bishops, presbyters, and deacons.” Thus, when our author wrote, “bishop” still remained a synonym for “presbyter,” and the episcopal office, properly so called, had not been constituted in the district in which he lived. Now there is no distinct trace of this first state of things—the itinerant ministry side by side with the localised—after the Apostolic writings, not even in the Apostolic Fathers; while as regards the second point—the identity of meaning in the terms “bishop” and “presbyter”—the latest example is found in Clement’s Epistle, which was written about A.D. 95; and in Asia Minor and Syria at all events, episcopacy proper was a recognised institution when Ignatius wrote in the early years of the second century. As

our work however may with some probability be assigned to Alexandria—for all its affinities are Alexandrian—and the march of events was probably not so rapid there as elsewhere, we may perhaps allow the latitude of a few years more. But, it will be urged, the description of the “Two Ways,” with which it commences, is obviously plagiarised from the Epistle of Barnabas, and this Epistle cannot be placed as early as this date for the plagiarist would require. In replying to this objection, I would altogether waive the question respecting the date of the Epistle of Barnabas, though I might have something to say on this point. But when I find two sets of critics, each maintaining with equal confidence and with some show of reason, the one that Barnabas borrows from the *Doctrine*, the other that the *Doctrine* is indebted to Barnabas, a third solution is suggested to my mind as more probable than either. May it not have been that neither author plagiarises from the other, but that both derive the matter which they have in common from a third source? The idea of the Two Ways was familiar to Greek philosophers. May not some pious Jew then have taken up this idea and interwoven into it the moral code of the Old Testament, writing perhaps under the mask of a heathen philosopher, who thus was made an unwilling witness to the superiority of Jewish ethics? The adoption of a heathen pseudonym was not an uncommon device with the literary Jew before and about the time of the Christian era, as, for instance, in the maxims of the pseudo-Phocylides and the predictions of the pseudo-Sibyllines. The early date which I venture to assign to the *Doctrine of the Apostles* agrees well with its general character. There is an archaic simplicity—I had almost said a childishness—in its practical directions, which is only consistent with the early infancy of a Church. Such, for instance, is the test which it suggests of truth and falsehood. A true apostle, says the writer, will only remain in a place a

single day or two at most ; if a man who sets up for an apostle stays a third, he is a false prophet. Of the genuineness of this document there can be no shadow of doubt. No one could or would have forged it. It serves no party interests ; it pleases nobody ; it is neither sacramentarian nor anti-sacramentarian, neither sacerdotal nor anti-sacerdotal, but both (at least in appearance) by turns. We may therefore safely use it as a witness ; but, while doing so, we must be careful not to attribute to it an authority to which it lays no claim. It pleads no official sanction. Its title is not intended to suggest its authorship. We may accept it as the private venture of some one who desires to set forth his views on moral conduct and Church order, believing them to represent the mind of the Apostles. But at the same time such a document cannot but reflect fairly well the beliefs and usages of the writer's age and country. A further caution is likewise needed. It does not profess to be complete. Its desultory character is apparent, for instance, in the description of the Eucharistic service, which is plainly fragmentary. We cannot therefore safely draw inferences from its silence. This remark applies especially to doctrine, of which it says next to nothing. Observing these cautions, we interrogate it with regard to the New Testament writings. And here the answer is unexpectedly full. The writer quotes large portions of St. Matthew. The Lord's Prayer is given at length ; numerous sayings from the Sermon on the Mount and elsewhere are introduced ; the baptismal formula is quoted. Occasionally also we come across echoes of the characteristic language of St. Luke, as for instance, "What thank have ye, if ye love them that love you" (c. 1), and again "Let not your lamps be quenched nor your loins ungirt, but be ready, for ye know not the hour in which our Lord cometh" (c. 16). On the other hand the coincidences with St. John are less close. The writer speaks of "the holy vine of David" ; he uses the

expression "perfect in love"; and in a third passage his language is the echo of an injunction in St. John's Second Epistle. These however, though indicating a sympathy with St. John's modes of thought, are not decisive as to a knowledge of his writings. Nor indeed if we are right in assigning a very early date to this document, are we justified in expecting such knowledge. With St. Paul's Epistles again the writer shows an acquaintance. Coincidences with four of these—Romans, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, and 2 Thessalonians—indicate a free use of the Apostle's writings. We likewise meet with the precept, "Abstain from fleshly and bodily lusts," which seems to be taken from 1 Peter ii. 11, but may possibly be independent. The testimony however is not confined to the passages actually quoted. The prominence given here, as in the epitaph of Abercius, to the two Sacraments, to these and these only, is the proper sequel to the Lord's parting commands as related in the Gospels. The picture of the Christian ministry again is the continuation of the state of things represented in St. Paul's Epistles. Remembering that the whole work occupies only a little more than six octavo pages, we are surprised at the amount of testimony—certainly much more than we had any right to expect—which it bears to the canon of the New Testament. Moreover, its evidence has a negative value also. In his *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, Dr. Westcott has brought together all the traditional sayings of Christ, and the result shows how very little was reported in the early ages outside the canonical Gospels. This result is confirmed by the document before us. It contains indeed one quotation of which the source is not known, a prudential maxim of almsgiving introduced with the words, "It has been said"; but we have no ground for supposing this to be given as a saying of Christ. All the evangelical matter, so far as we can trace it, is found within the four corners of our canonical Gospels.

These are the gleanings—neither meagre nor unimportant I venture to think—which a single year has yielded in this portion of our field.

J. B. DUNELM.

The inscription of Abercius may be restored with tolerable confidence, by the use of this threefold help ; (1) The text in the Metaphrast's *Life of Abercius*. (2) The fragments on the stone itself. (3) The imitation of it on the tomb of one Alexander (A.D. 216) discovered likewise by Mr. Ramsay at Hieropolis. It will run as follows :—

Ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως ὁ πολίτης τοῦτ' ἐποίησα
 ζῶν, ἴν' ἔχω καιρῷ σώματος ἔνθα θέσιν.
 οὐνομ' Ἀβέρκιος· εἰμι μαθητῆς ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ,
 ὃς βόσκει προβάτων ἀγέλας ὄρεσιν πεδίοις τε,
 5 ὁφθαλμοῦς ὃς ἔχει μεγάλους πάντη καθορώοντας·
 οὗτος γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξε...γράμματα πιστά·
 εἰς Ῥώμην ὃς ἐπεμψεν ἐμὲν βασίλῃαν ἀθρῆσαι
 καὶ βασίλισσαν ἰδεῖν χρυσοστόλον χρυσοπέδιλον.
 λαὸν δ' εἶδον ἐκεῖ λαμπρὰν σφραγεῖδαν ἔχοντα·
 10 καὶ Συρίης πέδον εἶδα καὶ ἄσπερα πάντα, Νίσιβιν,
 Εὐφράτην διαβάς· πάντη δ' ἔσχον συνομίλους·
 Παῦλον ἔχων ἐπό[μην], πίστις παντὶ δὲ προῆγε,
 καὶ παρέθηκε τροφὴν πάντη ἰχθύν ἀπὸ πηγῆς
 πανμεγέθῃ, καθαρὸν, ὃν ἐδράζατο παρθένος ἀγνή·
 15 καὶ τοῦτον ἐπέδωκε φίλοις ἔσθειν διὰ παντός,
 οἶνον χρηστὸν ἔχουσα, κέρασμα διδοῦσα μετ' ἄρτου.
 ταῦτα παρεστὼς εἶπον Ἀβέρκιος ὧδε γραφῆναι
 ἐβδομηκόστον ἔτος καὶ δεῦτερον ἥγον ἀληθῶς.
 ταῦθ' ὁ νοῶν εὕζαιτο ὑπὲρ μοῦ πᾶς ὁ συνωδός.
 20 οὐ μέντοι τῷ μωρῷ τις ἐμῷ ἕτερον ἐπιθήσει·
 εἰ δ' οὐκ, Ῥωμαίων ταμείῳ θήσει δισχίλια χρυσᾶ,
 καὶ χρηστῇ πατρίδι Ἱεροπόλει χίλια χρυσᾶ.

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

BY PROF. ALBERT L. LONG, D.D.

THE following notes of an examination, which I have just had the opportunity of making, of the "Jerusalem manuscript," from which the recent editions of the "Teaching" have been derived, will be, perhaps, of some interest to critical scholars, as well as to general readers.

The manuscript is found in the library of the Monastery (or *Metoche*) connected with the Jerusalem Patriarchate, in the Phanar or Greek quarter of Stamboul. This establishment is quite distinct from, although near to, that of the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople.

The library possesses, according to the statement of the librarian, six hundred ancient manuscripts. The Jerusalem manuscript is No. 446* of the collection. It is a stout volume, of what I would call a small 8vo. It is about eight inches long by six wide. It contains one hundred and twenty leaves of stout parchment, well preserved, but bearing indubitable marks of age. On the first or left hand page of the last leaf (or, using the numeration common in ancient manuscripts, page No. 120a) there is a subscription and date—"Finished in the month of June, 6564 (*i. e.*, A. D. 1056), by the hand of Leon the Notary."

The contents of these 120 parchment leaves are as follows:

1. The first thirty-two leaves contain what is entitled John Chrysostom's Synopsis of the Old and New Testaments in their order. Notwithstanding the title includes the New Testament, the Synopsis, however, finishes with the prophet Malachi.

2. From the 33d leaf to the second page of the 51st leaf is found the Epistle of Barnabas.

3. From the second page of the 51st (in the middle of the page) to the middle of the first page of the 70th leaf is found the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.

4. From the middle of the first page of the 70th, to the middle of the first page of the 76th leaf, is the Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.

5. On the first page of the 76th leaf, only three lines from the bottom, begins the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," finishing about the middle

* In the edition of the Epistles of Clement, Constantinople, 1875, by Bishop Philotheos Bryennios, taken from this manuscript, the number of the manuscript is given as 456. Whether it was a typographical error, or the volumes of the library have been renumbered, I could not find out

of the second page of the 80th leaf. The lower half of this page is left blank, while at the beginning—*i. e.*, on the 76th leaf, between the end of the Second Epistle of Clement and the beginning of the "Teaching," there is inserted (in ink differing slightly in color from other portions of the MS., what appears to be simply a list of the names of the books of the Old Testament, in Hebrew and Greek, the Hebrew names written in the Greek character, making the usual uncouth appearance. I have as yet no satisfactory theory in my mind to account for this insertion in this place. Possibly, the copyist simply thought to utilize the spare half page of parchment, and after having finished the Second Epistle of Clement, he thought to put in a little useful general information; then, having miscalculated his space, and having still three or four lines to spare, he began on the "Teaching." It is a curious fact that similar insertions of trivial and unimportant matter are frequently found in ancient MSS.

6. The half page at the close of the "Teaching" is left blank; but the 81st leaf and the half of the first page of the 82d leaf have the Epistle of Mary of Cassaboli to the saint and holy martyr Ignatius, Archbishop of Antioch. I regret that the circumstances did not allow any closer examination of this disputed epistle, so as to throw, if possible, some light upon the question of the city to which this lady belonged, and whether it was or not Castabala of Cilicia. Antioch is called the City of God (*Theopolis*) as was customary upon coins of a certain period.

7. Following this Epistle to the Martyr Saint Ignatius, there are *twelve* epistles from him. Now, inasmuch as there are *fifteen* epistles extant, which have been attributed to Ignatius, and out of the fifteen, at the present day *eight* are rejected by most biblical critics as *spurious*, the enumeration of the twelve given by this manuscript becomes a matter of considerable interest. I will therefore give it:

I. The First is to Mary, two pages. Presumably a reply to the preceding.

II. The Second is to the Trallians, from the middle of the first page of the 83d to the middle of the second page of the 87th leaf.

III. The Third Epistle is to the Magnesians, from the middle of the second page of the 87th, to the middle of the second page of the 91st leaf.

IV. The Fourth Epistle is to the Tarsians, and extends to the first page of the 94th leaf, ending near the top of the page.

V. The Fifth Epistle is that to the Philippians concerning Baptism, and extends to the middle of the second page of the 97th leaf.

VI. The Sixth Epistle is that to the Philadelphians, and extends to the middle of the first page of the 102d leaf.

VII. The Seventh Epistle is that to the Smyrnæans, finishing near the bottom of the second page of the 105th leaf.

VIII. The Eighth Epistle is that to Polycarp, the Bishop of Smyrna, beginning at the bottom of the second page of the 105th, and finishing about the middle of the second page of the 107th leaf.

IX. The Ninth Epistle is that to the Antiochians, finishing near the top of the first page of the 110th leaf.

X. The Tenth Epistle is that to Heron, Deacon of Antioch, finishing near the bottom of the second page of the 111th leaf.

XI. The Eleventh Epistle is that to the Ephesians, extending to the middle of the second page of the 117th leaf.

XII. The Twelfth Epistle is that to the Romans, and finishes five lines and a half from the top of the first page of the last leaf (120) of the volume. This is the Epistle to the Romans, more generally regarded as the genuine one. The absence of the amen after the closing words, "Fare ye well to the end in the patience of Jesus Christ," is worth nothing as indicative of agreement with the text known to English critics as the Longer Recension. After these five and a half lines, there is one line, well spaced from the above, finely written, in the most contracted and abbreviated style of hand-writing, containing the subscription and date above mentioned. The last half of the page and a part of the last page then has, in the same handwriting as the rest of the manuscript, an addition in the form of a genealogical note upon the genealogy of Joseph and Mary, and evidently following the authority of Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian. This has doubtless been simply added by the copyist in order to utilize the empty parchment.

I was unable to continue as long as I desired the examination of this interesting volume. There are very many questions of biblical archaeology, which would be touched upon, and some probably settled by its careful perusal. The four leaves of the "Teaching" are by no means the only gold in this mass of ore. The last paragraph of the Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, just preceding the "Teaching," is as follows:

"To God alone, the invisible Father of truth, who hath sent unto us the Saviour and the Prince of incorruption, through whom also he has revealed unto us the truth and the heavenly life; to Him be glory for ever and ever. Amen."

ROBERT COLLEGE, CONSTANTINOPLE.

WE have already denied, on the authority of a private note from Professor Long, that he and President Washburn were led, on their second examination of the manuscript of the "Teaching of the Apostles," to a doubt of the genuineness of this now famous writing. We have just received a fuller and more explicit note from Professor Long, which we gladly lay before our readers:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEPENDENT:

In view of the mention made of my name in connection with certain statements concerning the Jerusalem manuscript, I feel that it would be proper for me to make to you the following statement:

1. I have no sympathy with any attempt to throw discredit upon the genuineness of the manuscript as a whole, or upon the "Teaching," as a part of the same.

2. Notwithstanding a vexatious and annoying incident, which I had hoped would not be made public, but which I find imperfectly described in various newspaper paragraphs, I have never had any thought of attributing the unwillingness of the authorities of the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre to have a page of the "Teaching" photographed to the cause suggested. I have had several other explanations, more natural and more satisfactory to my mind, although I do not consider it necessary to make them public.

3. The incident above alluded to, while it was disappointing, yet furnished me the opportunity of examining the manuscript much more thoroughly than I could otherwise have hoped to do. In this examination, I am bound to say also, the Librarian, Sophronius, very cordially gave me every facility which I could ask, and showed very plainly that he was mortified and grieved at the decision of his superior.

4. Upon that occasion I examined the stitching of the sheets. I inserted the photographic *fac simile* of the last page between the pages in some fifteen or twenty different places, and carefully compared the handwriting with reference to uniformity in ligatures and abbreviations and in the shape of certain letters. The result was that I satisfied myself that the volume is entire, written by the same hand; that the "Teaching" is an integral part of the volume; and that there is no reasonable ground for doubting the authenticity of the date of the subscription by the hand of the copyist, A. D. 1056.

ALBERT L. LONG.

ROBERT COLLEGE, CONSTANTINOPLE, Aug. 29th.

PASTOR PETERSEN, of Rellingen, has brought out a fifteen-page pamphlet on "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," which is remarkable among German works on the subject for its concise dealing with the facts, and for placing the date of the "Teaching" anterior to the Epistle of Barnabas. The sound common-sense of the treatise makes it almost read like an English or American work. His reasons for putting it anterior to the Epistle of Barnabas are derived from the internal evidence of the document

itself. In the main, they are such as have convinced some of the American and English writers; the parallel passages in the Epistle of Barnabas show an amplification, and that of such a sort as the writer of the "Teaching" would by no means have neglected, had it been before him to extract from. Pastor Petersen also thinks (as the Americans above-mentioned do) that the composition of the "Teaching" dates back to the very borders of the Apostolic age.

The Harp of David Chronicle Review
(*Review of the Times*, London.) VIII: 30. June 2' 1884

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.⁴

THE teaching of the Lord by the twelve Apostles to the nations.

Chapter I.—There are two ways, one of life and one of death, and there is great difference between the two ways. The way of life is this: first, thou shalt love God that made thee; secondly, thy neighbour as thyself, and whatsoever thou dost not wish to be done to thee, do not thou to another. And the teaching of these two commands is this: Bless those that curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for those who persecute you; for what thank is there if ye love those that love you? Do not the Gentiles also the same? But love ye those that hate you, and ye shall not have an enemy. Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts. If a man give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect. If a man compel thee to go one mile, go with him twain. If a man take thy cloak, give to him also thy coat. If a man take from thee that which is thine, do not ask for it again, for indeed thou canst not. Give to every one that asketh of thee, and do not ask for it again, for the Father wishes gifts to be made to all out of the good things which each has received. Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment, for he shall be blameless. Woe to him that receiveth, for if a man receives when he is in need, he shall be blameless, but he that is not in need shall be put upon his trial, why he has received, and for what purpose, and being held fast, he shall be questioned about what he did, and he shall not go forth thence until he has paid the uttermost farthing; but it has been said about this also, Let thy alms stick to thy hands until thou knowest to whom thou givest.

Chapter II.—And the second command of the teaching is: Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not corrupt boys; thou shalt not commit fornication; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not be guilty of witchcraft; thou shalt not use magical drugs;

⁴ From the MS. lately published by Philotheus Bryennius, Metropolitan of Nicomedia. See pp. 62, 112.

thou shalt not be guilty of child-murder by abortion or after birth; thou shalt not covet the things of thy neighbour; thou shalt not commit perjury; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not speak evil; thou shalt not dwell upon wrong; thou shalt not be double-minded or double-tongued, for a double tongue is a trap of death; thy word shall not be false nor empty, but in accordance with thy act. Thou shalt not be covetous, nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor ill-behaved, nor proud. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not hate any man, but some thou shalt reprove, and for others thou shalt pray, and others thou shalt love above thine own soul.

Chapter III.—My son, fly from all evil, and from everything that is like it. Do not be passionate, for passion leads the way to murder; and do not be envious or quarrelsome or ill-tempered, for murders spring out of all these things. My son, be not lustful, for lust leads to fornication; and do not use foul words, and do not cast lewd glances, for from all these things spring adulteries. My son, seek not after auguries, since that leads to idolatry; and do not seek after charms or astrology, or lustrations by fire, nor even look at these things, for from all these spring idolatry. My son, be not a liar, for lying leads to theft; nor fond of money, nor of vainglory; from all these things spring thefts. My son, be not a murmurer, since it leads to blasphemy. Do not be obstinate, nor evil-minded, for from all these things spring blasphemies. But be meek, for the meek shall inherit the earth. Be longsuffering, and merciful, and guileless, and gentle, and good, and always fearing the words which thou hast heard. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, nor permit haughtiness to thy soul. Thy soul shall not be united to the lofty, but thou shalt dwell with the just and humble. Thou shalt accept whatever happens to thee as good, knowing that nothing takes place without God.

Chapter IV.—My son, thou shalt remember night and day him that speaks to thee the Word of God, and thou shalt honour him as the Lord; for where the Lord's work is spoken of (*Κυριότης λαλείται*),⁵ there is the Lord. Thou shalt seek out every day the persons of the saints, that thou mayest rest in their words. Thou shalt not desire schism, but thou shalt set at peace those that are quarrelling. Thou shalt judge justly. Thou shalt not accept persons in convicting for trespasses. Thou shalt not be doubtful (in prayer), whether it shall

⁵ This may mean "Where Christ is announced as the Lord."

be fulfilled or no. Do not stretch out thy hands to receive, and draw them back for giving. If thou hast anything in thy hand, thou shalt give a ransom for thy sins. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor shalt thou murmur as thou givest, for thou wilt know who it is who gives good payment in return. Thou shalt not turn away him that is in want, but thou shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thy own. For if ye are sharers in that which is immortal, how much more in things that perish? Thou shalt not lift up thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but thou shalt teach them the fear of God from their youth. Thou shalt not give orders to thy slave or to thy maidservant, who hope in the same God with thyself, in ill-temper, lest they shall cease to fear the God who is above both; for He is not come to call men with respect to persons, but those whom the Spirit hath prepared. And ye slaves be subject to your masters, as representing God, with modesty and fear. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy, and everything that is not pleasing to the Lord. Thou shalt not forsake the commands of the Lord; but thou shalt keep those things which thou receivedst, neither adding thereto, nor taking therefrom. Thou shalt confess thy sins in the Church, and shalt not come to thy prayer with a bad conscience. That is the way of life.

Chapter V.—And the way of death is this: First of all, it is evil and full of cursing; murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, witchcrafts, magic drugs, robberies, false witness, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, deceit, pride, malice, self-will, covetousness, evil speaking, envy, audacity, arrogance, pomp; persecutors of the good, hating the truth, loving a lie, not knowing the reward of righteousness, not attaching themselves to the good nor to just judgment; watching, not for good, but for evil; far from meekness and patience, loving vain things, seeking a reward, not pitying the poor man, not toiling for him who is broken down with toil, not knowing Him who made them, murderers of children, corrupters of the creatures of God, men who turn away from him who is in want, who lay burdens on the afflicted, comforters of the rich, unjust judges of the poor, sinners in all things. Turn away, children, from all these.

Chapter VI.—Take care that nobody lead thee astray from this way of teaching, for he teaches thee that which does not come from God. For if thou art able to carry the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou art not able, do that which thou canst do. And as to meats, bear what thou canst; but take good heed to

abstain from that which is offered in sacrifice to idols, for that is worshipping dead gods.

Chapter VII.—About baptism, baptize thus. After having recited all that has preceded, baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, in living water; and if thou hast not living water, baptize into other water; and if thou canst not in cold water, then in warm; but if thou hast neither, pour water upon the head thrice in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And before baptism let him that baptizes, and him that is baptized, and any others that can, fast; and thou shalt command the baptized to fast one or two days previously.

Chapter VIII.—Let not your fasts be with the hypocrites, for they fast on the second and fifth day of the week; but you should fast on the fourth and on the day of preparation (Friday); and do not pray as the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in His Gospel, so pray ye:—Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth; give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our debt, as we also forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: for Thine is the power and the glory, for ever. Pray thus three times a day.

Chapter IX.—Concerning the Eucharistical prayer, thus give thanks. First, about the cup: “We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy servant (*παιδός σου*), which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus, Thy Child (*παιδός σου*). To Thee be the glory for ever.” And about the broken bread: “We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou madest known unto us through Jesus, Thy Child. To Thee be the glory for ever. As this bread which we break was once scattered over the hills, and gathered together it became one, so may Thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom; for Thine is the glory and the power, through Jesus Christ, for ever.” And let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist, except those who are baptized in the name of the Lord; for about this the Lord said: “Give not that which is holy to the dogs.”

Chapter X.—And after reception [lit., after ye are filled] thus give thanks: “We give thanks to Thee, Holy Father, for Thy Holy Name, which thou madest to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith of immortality, which Thou madest known to us through Jesus, Thy Child. To Thee be the glory for ever. Thou, Almighty Lord,

didst create all things for Thy Name's sake, and didst give food and drink to men for enjoyment, that they may give thanks unto Thee; and on us Thou bestowedst spiritual food and drink and eternal life, through Thy Child; and above all we give thanks to Thee for Thy power (*ὅτι δυνατός εἶ*). To Thee be the glory for ever. Remember, O Lord, Thy Church, to deliver it from all evil, and to perfect it in Thy love, and gather it from the four winds, the sanctified Church, into Thy kingdom, which Thou didst prepare for it; for Thine is the power and the glory for ever. Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the Son of David! If any be holy, let him come; if not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen." And allow the prophets to offer what Eucharistical prayers they please.

Chapter XI.—Whoever then shall come and teach you all the foregoing, receive him; but if the teacher himself turn and teach another doctrine, so as to overthrow this, you must not listen to him; but if his object is to teach righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord; and as to apostles and prophets, treat them according to the rule of the Gospel. Let every apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord; but he shall not abide more than one day, and if need be, one more; but if he remain three days, he is a false prophet. Let the apostle who comes out receive nothing but bread to last him until he reach his destination; but if he asks for money, he is a false prophet. Ye shall not try or discern a prophet who is speaking in the spirit, for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. But it is not everybody who speaks in the spirit who is a prophet, but if he have the ways of the Lord. The false and the true prophet, therefore, will be known by their ways. A prophet who appoints a table, speaking in the spirit, shall not eat of it; if he do, he is a false prophet. And a prophet who teaches the truth, if he does not do that which he teaches, is a false prophet. A prophet approved and true, who gathers Church assemblies for a worldly mystery,⁶ but does not teach others to do what he does himself, shall not be judged by you, for he has his judgment of God; for thus did also the ancient prophets; but whosoever shall say in the spirit, give me money, or something else, ye shall not listen to him; but if he desire you to give in behalf of others who are in want, let no man judge him.

Chapter XII.—Let every one who comes in the name of the Lord

⁶ This is supposed by Bryennius to mean a symbolical act, such as we find in Ezek. iv. 1, xii. 3, &c.; but more probably it means a secular art or science taught by the prophet; for every art or science which had to be imparted by technical rules was called a "mystery."

be received, and then by testing him ye will know what he is, for ye will have understanding right hand and left.⁷ If he who comes is a wayfarer, help him as much as you can ; but he shall not remain with you more than three or four days, if need require ; and if he wishes to settle with you, if he is a workman, let him labour and so let him eat ; but if he has no occupation, take measures according to your discretion that he do not live as an idle Christian with you ; and if he will not do thus, he is one that makes a gain of Christ. Beware of such men.

Chapter XIII.—But every true prophet who wishes to remain with you is worthy of his meat ; so too, a true teacher, like the labourer, is also worthy of his meat. Thou shalt therefore take and give to the prophets the first-fruits of the press and of the threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep, for they are your high priests ; and if you have not a prophet, give them to the poor. If thou makest a feast, take the first-fruits and give them according to the commandment. In like manner, when thou openest a jar of wine or of oil, take the first-fruits and give it to the prophets, and take the first-fruits of thy silver and of thy clothes, and all that thou possessest to the extent that shall seem good to thee, and give it according to the commandment.

Chapter XIV.—Assemble yourselves on the Lord's Day, and break bread and give thanks, having confessed your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure. And if any one has a dispute with his companion, let him not join you until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice be not desecrated ; for this was what was said by the Lord : "In every place and time ye shall bring to me a pure sacrifice ; for I am a great king, saith the Lord, and my name is wonderful amongst the Gentiles."

Chapter XV.—Appoint, therefore, for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, meek, not fond of money, true and tried men ; for they, too, minister unto you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. Do not, therefore, neglect them, for they are your honoured ones with the prophets and teachers. Reprove one another, not in anger but peacefully, as ye have it in the Gospel ; and if a man does wrong against another, let no one speak to him, nor any of you listen to him, until he has repented. And perform your prayers and alms and all your acts so as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord.

Chapter XVI.—Watch for your life ; let not your lamps be

⁷ That is, "Ye have understanding enough to distinguish your right hand from your left." Cf. Jonah iv. 11.

extinguished, nor your loins ungirt, but be ready; for ye know not the hour in which our Lord cometh. And ye shall assemble yourselves together frequently, seeking the things that belong to your souls; for the whole time of your belief will not profit you unless ye be perfected in the last moment. For in the last days the false prophets and corrupters will abound, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love shall be turned into hatred; for as lawlessness increases, men will hate one another, and persecute and betray one another; and then shall appear the world-deceiver as Son of God, and he shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands, and he shall do unlawful things such as never have been done from the beginning of the world. Then the race of mankind shall come to the trial of the refiner's fire, and many shall be offended and perish, but they that remain in their faith shall be saved under the very curse. And then the signs of the truth shall appear; first, the sign of the outspreading;⁸ next, the sign of the voice of the trumpet; and thirdly, the resurrection of the dead—not however, of all, but as it was said, "The Lord shall come, and all His saints with Him." Then the world shall see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.

The Academy. Jan'y 31st 1883

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων. A Translation with Notes, and Excursus (I.—IX.) illustrative of the "Teaching," and the Greek Text. By Canon Spence. (Nisbet.)

THIS edition of *The Teaching of the Apostles*, in its parchment cover and on antique paper, makes an attractive-looking volume. Canon Spence's translation is good; but there are a few points to which attention may be called. In chap. v. *φαρμακείαι* is translated "philtres"; should it not rather be "druggings"? In the same chapter *φθορεῖς πλάσματος Θεοῦ*, "corrupters of the image of God," should certainly be "corrupters of God's handiwork." In chap. ix. *διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου* is twice rendered "through Jesus Thy Son." That the authorised version renders *παῖδα* by "son" in the Acts cannot be held to justify this translation. Canon Spence would have done better to follow the precedent of the Revised Version and given "servant." In chap. xi. *οὐ μενεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν*, "he shall not stay more than one day." This is apparently the meaning, but it is an impossible rendering of the text as it stands. We must either, with Hilgenfeld, omit the *οὐ*, or, with

Harnack, interpolate *εἰ μὴ*. In the same chapter *πάντα προφήτην . . . οὐ πειράσετε*, "every prophet . . . ye shall not try," should, of course, be "any prophet." In chap. xvi. *ἐκπετάσεως*, "a soaring forth"; should it not rather be "a spreading out," as of wings? Canon Spence understands it of the living, who are to be caught up to meet the Lord in the air; but I should fancy it rather refers to the wings of the angels of doom, and that the New Testament parallel is to be sought in Matt. xxiv. 31, rather than in 1 Thess. iv. 13-17.

Let us now see how Canon Spence deals with the one or two difficulties of the piece. *Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης . . . ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας* (chap. xi.), where Harnack takes *ποιῶν* absolutely, translating "der in Hinblick auf das irdische Geheimniss der Kirche," Canon Spence translates "every prophet who summons assemblies for the purpose of showing an earthly mystery." This gives so good a sense that one wonders any other should have been suggested; but the objection probably is the use of *ἐκκλησίας* in a sense which it has almost lost in the New Testament, and that the arrangement of the words is too artificial for the rude style of the

writer. By the "earthly mystery" Canon Harnack draws the former, and Canon Spence understands, with Bryennios, a symbolic action, like Ezekiel's laying siege to the tile, and by *αρχαῖοι προφῆται* the prophets of the Old Testament. This, in spite of Harnack, must surely be right. Even if the Teaching was written in the second quarter of the second century, if the author was acquainted with the Old Testament at all, he could hardly mean by "the ancient prophets" any but those of the older dispensation. At any rate, we may remember that the prophets of the primitive Church sometimes used symbolic actions, as is clear from the example of Agabus.

In the same chapter, immediately above, is the other chief difficulty. *Καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὁρίζων τράπέζαν ἐν πνεύματι, κ.τ.λ.* This Canon Spence translates, "And no prophet who in the Spirit orders a love-feast eats *himself* of it." Probably this is substantially the meaning, though for love-feast should be substituted a more general expression, such as a dinner, *i.e.*, for the poor. If the prophet's chief object is to get a dinner for himself, then he is a false prophet. In chap. xvi. *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος* is translated "under the very curse"; but, in the note, it is explained that the "very curse" is Jesus himself, who is here so-called "in terrible irony." This is probably the true meaning; but, if so, we ought to read not "under," but "by the very curse."

Canon Spence's notes are generally excellent. It is, however, no harm to point out that the word Trinity does not, of course, occur in the text, though Canon Spence writes as if it did. The Excursus in this volume are an able, though far from exhaustive, treatment of the several points of interest raised by this treatise. They are too short to be in all respects satisfying, and are not to be compared to the elaborate essay of Harnack.

One of the most important features of the original work, it is well known, is the position assigned to the apostolate, the apostles being represented as men in active employment, travelling from place to place, and from one of whom a visit might any day be expected. Now from this circumstance one of two inferences inevitably follows: either that the apostolate continued some way into the second century, or that the Teaching belongs to the first. Of those inferences

Harnack draws the former, and Canon Spence the latter; but which of the two is right I doubt if there are any means of deciding. Canon Spence thinks that he sees signs that the apostolate was an office which was fast passing away. Now this, I submit, is just what we do not see. At the same time, it may be admitted, there is nothing in the Teaching, assuming its early date, inconsistent with the common view that all apostles must have been witnesses of the Resurrection. That the apostles of our treatise claimed, indeed, to have received their commission from Christ in person (it might be by supernatural means, as in the case of Paul) need not, from any point of view, be questioned; but to make them necessarily contemporaneous with the original twelve, would not this require a higher antiquity for the Teaching than even Canon Spence would ascribe to it? Canon Spence also lays stress on the position of the episcopate. Bishops and deacons are mentioned as if they were almost on a par, and they both alike hold their office by the election of the people. "Early in the second century," says Canon Spence, "the genuine epistles of Ignatius [but which are they?] testify with ample fulness to the rise of the episcopal power." Probably the first quarter of the second century is precisely the period of church history of which we are most ignorant; and, notwithstanding the assertion, quoted from Bishop Lightfoot, that "early in the second century the episcopal office was firmly and widely established," I cannot think this argument conclusive. There are some strong reasons for believing that the Teaching may belong to the first century, but the evidence cannot be pronounced conclusive; and, considering the darkness which still hangs over the post-apostolic age, the safest, if not the most satisfactory, course is to hold one's judgment in suspense.

ROBERT B. DRUMMOND.

"The Foreign Church Chronicle & Review"
 Jan 2 1884 Notices. VII: 30

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροσολυμιτικοῦ χειρογράφου νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδιδομένη μετὰ προλεγομένων καὶ σημειώσεων ὑπὸ ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΥ ΒΡΥΕΝΝΙΟΥ, μητροπολίτου Νικομηδείας. [Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1883. Pp. 149 and 75.] ¹

There are four ancient documents so similar in their subject-matter, and in the phraseology in which the ideas are clothed, that they must have been copied from each other or derived from a common original. These are (1) the Epistle of Barnabas; (2) the Seventh Book of the Apostolical Constitutions; (3) a treatise first published by Bickell in 1843, and reprinted by Hilgenfeld in 1866, with the double title, "The Constitutions delivered by Clement, and the Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles," and "An Epitome of the Appointments of the Holy Apostles of Catholic Tradition;" (4) "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," now edited by Philotheus Bryennius, first known to Western Churchmen as one of the two Archrimandrites from Constantinople who attended the Bonn Conference of 1875, then as Metropolitan of Serræ and editor of St. Clement's Epistles, and now as the learned Metropolitan of Nicomedia. What is the relation in which these documents stand to each other?

Can the Epistle of Barnabas be the original of the other three? No. For while there are parts of the Epistle which are identical with parts of the other treatises, there are points in which those treatises agree with one another which are not found in the Epistle of Barnabas. Is the Seventh Book of the Constitutions the original? No. For names and things of a more modern date are found in the Seventh Book of the Constitutions substituted for their earlier equivalents in the "Teaching," e.g. where the ministry of "prophets" is spoken of in the "Teaching," that of "presbyters" is found in the Constitutions. Presbyters and prophets were, it is true, coeval, but as prophets passed away, while presbyters continued, a later document would not have substituted prophet for presbyter, and therefore the "Teaching" must be more ancient than the Constitutions. Is the Epitome the original? No. For it assumes that Peter and Cephas are different persons, and that Nathanael (in addition to Bartholomew) was one of the Twelve. It could not

¹ See above, p. 92, for the translation of this treatise.

have, therefore, been written for at least two or three hundred years after the time of the Apostles. Is the "Teaching" the original? No. For internal evidence shows that if one be derived from the other, the Epitome must be older than the "Teaching."²

It remains that all four of these treatises are recensions of a common original. It would appear that there was a document known as the "Teaching of the Apostles," which was regarded as a common property of the early Christians. In its original form it was probably confined to the practical and moral instructions with which the treatise published by Bryennius commences. But very soon there was added to it an instruction on the two sacraments, on the ministry, and on the last day, and the whole was still called the "Teaching of the Apostles." The first to make use of this document was the author of the Epistle of Barnabas, who has embodied in his work almost the whole of the first section of the "Teaching," and—a noticeable thing—has a quotation also from the last chapter of it. A passage from it is also cited in the "Shepherd of Hermas." Next, probably, appeared the treatise now published by Bryennius, which may be regarded as the second recension of the original work, published early in the second century. Then would follow the Seventh Book of the Constitutions in the third century, and the Epitome in the fourth.

Besides the proof (in itself sufficient) which we have already given that Bryennius' treatise is not (as he claims) the original work, there are grammatical indications of the same fact. We will give a few instances. "Thou shalt not be of doubtful mind whether it shall be or no" ("The Teaching," chap. iv.). This passage in the Epitome takes the form, "In thy prayer thou shalt not be of doubtful mind whether it shall be or no" (chap. i.); and in the Constitutions, "Be not of doubtful mind in thy prayer whether it shall be or no, for the Lord said to Peter on the sea, O thou of

² As proof sufficient, we cannot do better than refer to the *Church Quarterly Review* for April, from which we extract the following:—"The following is a delicate but convincing proof that Bickell's Epitome is not derived from the 'Teaching,' but *vice versâ*, unless they are both taken from a common original. The first six chapters of the 'Teaching' consist of moral and practical instructions, such as 'Do not kill; do not covet; do not be envious; do not lie.' At irregular intervals, coming sometimes more, sometimes less thickly together, these precepts are preceded by the words 'My son.' We see no reason why these words should be sometimes inserted, sometimes not; and we ask who it is that says 'My'? Turn to the Epitome, and these difficulties are cleared up. Those words commence new instructions, given, as is there represented, by one and another Apostle. Thus in the third chapter of the 'Teaching,' we have, 'My son, flee from all evil. . . . My son, be not lustful. . . . My son, seek not after auguries. . . . My son, be not a liar.' But in the Epitome we find, 'Andrew said, My son, flee from all evil. . . . Philip said, Son, be not lustful. . . . James said, Son, seek not after auguries. . . . Nathanael said, Son, be not a liar.' By a well-known rule of criticism, it follows that the Epitome was the original of the 'Teaching,' unless they both come from a common source, as is otherwise proved to be far the most likely hypothesis."

little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?" Here it would seem that the epitomist who wrote the "Teaching" left out the explanatory words of the original, which the other two recensions have preserved. Again, in chapter v. we find a number of nominative cases without a verb attached: the Constitutions supply the verb. Once more, in chapter xii. we read, "For ye will have understanding right hand and left." What does it mean? The Constitutions read, "For ye have understanding, and are able to know the right hand or the left." Here the editor of the "Teaching" has apparently cut the materials lying before him too short for clearness, while the editor of the Constitutions has been more careful. Apparently, too, the editor of the "Teaching" has from the same cause made a mistake in chapter xiv. His text is, "Assemble yourselves on the Lord's Day of the Lord" (*κυριακὴν Κυρίου*); while the Constitutions have no doubt preserved the reading of the original, "Assemble yourselves on the day of the resurrection of the Lord, we mean the Lord's Day" (chap. xxx.).

But though not itself the original, it is plainly evident that the "Teaching" is a very early recension of the original. This is shown not only by the prominent position assigned to the prophets, to which we have already referred, but also by other indications not to be mistaken. We will cite one which does not lie on the surface. In the liturgical directions as to the Eucharist we find a very remarkable word used for the reception—*μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*—"after ye are filled;" whereas in the Constitutions the ordinary words—*μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν*—"after the reception," are used. The word in the "Teaching" indicates that the partaking of the consecrated elements took place at the same time as the love feast, as was the case in the time of St. Paul (1 Cor. xi.). It was still the custom for the Christians to bring their offerings of bread and wine, and a part of their offerings having been taken and consecrated as the Lord's Body, to eat the feast of charity and consume the consecrated elements one after the other, carefully "discerning" the one from the other, and giving thanks for the whole at the conclusion of the feast. Thus we can understand the words "after ye are filled." At a later date, when the two feasts—the feast of charity and the sacred feast—were separated from one another, the words "after the reception" were naturally substituted.

The treatise given to the world by Bryennius has made a considerable stir in the religious world, as we predicted in our last

number would be the case. The reviewer in the *Guardian* accepts Bryennius' hypothesis that the "Teaching" is the original apocryphal work so known, and suggests an earlier date for it than that which Bryennius has himself proposed, hazarding the conjecture that it may belong to the first century. The reviewer in the *Church Quarterly Review*, with greater caution, pronounces it to be a recension of the original apocryphal work. Dr. W. Adams, of Nashotah, in the (American) *Churchman*, suggests that it is an adaptation of the original apocryphal work made by Audæus in the fourth century for sectarian purposes. Archdeacon Farrar deals with it in the *Contemporary Review*. Probably we may be safe in concluding as follows. A pious Christian at the end of the first century, reading Acts ii. 42, "And they continued steadfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers" (R. V.), undertook the task of setting forth, in a dramatic form, what was this "Teaching of the Apostles." Having done this, and perhaps published it with the alternative name of the "Two Ways," he may have proceeded to expound the remainder of the verse for the use of his unlettered co-religionists by giving, in like form, a statement as to the ministry, the Sacraments, and the Sunday services, adding to it the received views as to the last day. This document became known as the "Teaching of the Apostles," not as emanating from them, but as being the title adopted for the book by the pious author from Acts ii. 42. Accepted as, on the whole, a fair statement, it was quoted or made their own by the writer of Barnabas' Epistle, by the Shepherd of Hermas, by the unknown writer of the treatise now published by Bryennius, by the compiler of the Constitutions, and by the author of the Epitome. Its value is discounted by its having already been before us in all its essential features in the Seventh Book of the Constitutions.

The instruction to be derived from this ancient document may be thus summarized:—First, the "Teaching of the Apostles" is in the mind of the writer primarily moral and practical. Secondly, the prominent ceremonies of the early Christians are two—Baptism and the Eucharist. Thirdly, baptism was administered by water and the appointed words; no oil, salt, or other material are known, nor any ritual adopted beyond that of dipping or trine affusion. Fourthly, the Eucharist was celebrated every Sunday in conjunction with the Feast of Love, as it was in the time of St. Paul: fasting was not required of recipients of the Eucharist, but it was required of (adult)

recipients of baptism. Fifthly, the Eucharist was regarded as a sacrifice of thanksgiving, made in joyous acknowledgment of God's goodness and power in giving food to support man's life and spiritual sustenance to Christians. Sixthly, the ministry of the Church consisted still in part of those who received extraordinary charismata, such as the prophets and teachers, in part of the ordinary clergy, viz. bishops, i.e. presbyters, and deacons, the Apostles themselves (who are represented as the authors of the instructions given), supplying the highest order: there was also a class of itinerating or missionary preachers termed apostles, whom, as well as prophets and teachers, we find in the New Testament. Seventhly, a personal Antichrist was expected in the last days, and a second Advent of Christ was looked for.

Josephus May 1st 1884

BAPTISM IN EARLY ART.

THE May number of *The Andover Review* contains an article which will be of great interest to students of Christian archæology. Prof. Egbert C. Smyth collects and discusses the pictorial representations of baptism found in the Catacombs, which cover the period from the latter part of the second century to the middle of the sixth. Seven of these pictures are reproduced from the plates of Garucci and De Rossi, in all of which, except one, baptism is represented as by affusion. In the other case, the oldest of all these figures, Christ is represented as in the water, while John stands on the bank and takes his hand to help him out. The general representation seems to be of the candidate standing naked in water ankle deep, while the administrator stands clothed on the bank and showers the water freely over the head of the candidate.

Professor Smyth accepts Neander's conclusion that the prevalent early form of baptism was by immersion; but he raises the question how it can be that, if only baptism by immersion was known in the first centuries, the only form of baptism figured in the oldest art that has come down to us, that which dates back to the second century, and which is repeated for centuries

afterward, the prevalent form is by affusion. It would seem that, if immersion were practiced elsewhere, affusion was certainly known in Rome. There must have been at least a tradition preserved in art that pouring water on the head was true baptism, and that it was proper to represent Christ as so baptized.

The writings of the early fathers, however, have shown that as far back as the middle of the third century baptism was almost always by immersion, or, rather, submersion. The Epistle of Cyprian to Magnus is sufficient proof of this. Cyprian seems not to have known any other baptism than complete immersion, and is not certain whether, even in the case of the sick, affusion were allowable. He permits it, but with some question. It is curious that there should be this conflict between the two sources of evidence, the literary and the iconographic, the one favoring immersion and the other affusion. The question necessarily is raised, and is not wholly easy to answer: Which represents the earlier tradition? Which will preserve in the most conservative way the first practice?

Here the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" brings us some new light. It shows us the practice of the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, as preserved in literature, not in art.

While it is not wholly clear, it shows that baptism by affusion was by no means so exceptional a method as in the time of Cyprian. It was to be used not on account of sickness only, but wherever there was a scarcity of water. This allows that the baptism described as "in" or "into" living or other water, when water was abundant, was by immersion, not of the feet only, as in the art of the Catacombs, but by complete immersion, though the language will allow either. The candidate was to be baptized "in living water" (not *into* here), that is water as of a river, stream, sea, lake, well or fountain; if living water could not be had then "into other water" (here the preposition changes), and this water might be either the cold water of a cistern, or, if this could not be had, hot water, probably that of a public or private bath. But if water enough for this could not be had, then it was enough to pour water over the head three times. This last is called baptism as well as the ordinary mode; and it is immediately after mentioning this mode by affusion that the document proceeds, "Before baptism, let the baptizer and the baptized fast."

All this does not prove that between the time of the New Testament and the "Teaching," if the latter is subsequent to the former, the use of affusion had not sprung up as a corruption. Each one can judge for himself whether this is probable. This, at least, is clear to us, that, whatever may have been the practice of the Early Church on this subject, at the end of the first century, or soon after, the method pictured in the Catacombs was regarded as perfectly legitimate. Certainly, to-day, with what we know of the unimportance of the ritualism, it cannot be regarded as justifiable to refuse full and equal Christian fellowship to any on the mere ground that they have not received the ceremony of baptism in the exact form that is supposed to have been employed in the baptism of our Lord.

HAVING translated Harnack's version of the most important part of the newly discovered "Teaching of the Apostles," we find it necessary to make one somewhat important correction. In the seventh section, that on baptism, instead of "sprinkle the head," as our translation gave it, from an indefinite word in the German, meaning *to wet*, it should be "*pour out upon the head*," the Greek verb being ἐκχέω. As this is a somewhat important passage we give the Greek text:

Περὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε· ταῦτα πάντα προεῖποντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. [Here, in a foot-note, Bryennios, who writes in Greek, says "ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν λέγει τὸ ἄρτι ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος ἠντλημένον, τὸ ὑπόγειον, τὸ πρόσφατον καὶ νεαρόν. Cf. Jn. iv. 10, 11; vii, 38." 'Εὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον' [foot-note by Bryennios, "i. e., μὴ πρόσφατον καὶ νεαρόν, ψυχρὸν δέ"] εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. 'Εὰν δὲ ἀμφοτέρα μὴ ἔχῃς, ἐκχεον [sic] εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρίς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. [Here another foot-note of Bryennios to the effect that if they had neither cold water nor warm sufficient for baptism, and necessity was upon them, they could *pour*, reference being made, says Bryennios, to *clinic* baptism. (Tertullian's "*in periculo mortis*." Cf. Eusebius h, e. 6, 43, etc.)] Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστεύατω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἰ τινες ἄλλοι δύνανται. Κελεύσεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.

We translate the first part of this passage once more, with Bryennios's Greek notes:

"Concerning baptism, thus baptize ye. Having previously imparted all these doctrines, baptize ye into the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost in living water. [Foot-note: But living water designates that which has just been drawn from the well, which is recent, fresh and new. See John iv, 10, 11; vii, 38.] But if you have no living water, baptize in other water [Foot-note: i. e., not fresh and new, yet cold]; and if you cannot in cold water, then in warm. But if you have neither, then pour water three times on the head, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost."

Of course Bryennios's foot-notes must be taken for what they are worth. We see no evidence in the text that clinic baptism is referred to. It appears to be lack of water that is referred to, not sickness of the candidate, as in the famous passage in Cyprian's Letter "*Ad Magnum*." "Living water" of course includes all moving water in streams and seas, as well as the water just drawn from a well which, the Samaritan woman called living water.

Modern Review
July 1874

"TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES."

Alexander Gordon

THE historian Eusebios (d. 340) in enumerating the writings of the New Testament (E. H. iii. 25) distinguishes broadly between those which in his time were acknowledged and those which were disputed. As a subclass of the latter division he specifies some which in his own judgment are certainly spurious (ἐν τοῖς νόθοις). He thus characterises the Acts of Paul, the Shepherd, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistle which purports to be by Barnabas, and "the so-called *Teachings* (διδασκαί) of the *Apostles*." St. Athanasios, in his 39th Festal Letter (A.D. 367), the genuineness of which has been doubted but is usually allowed, gives the Canon of both Testaments, and adds a list of other books, not canonical, nor yet apocryphal, but authorised (τετυπωμένα) by the Fathers for the instruction of catechumens. These are the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), Esther, Judith, Tobit, the *Teaching* (διδασχῆ) called of the *Apostles*, and the Shepherd. An ancient but undoubtedly spurious *Synopsis* of Holy Scripture which is printed with the works of St. Athanasios mentions the following as disputed books of the New Testament, selections from which were translated and read, as approved by the ancient Fathers, and as containing some truths, and having some tincture of inspiration, viz., the Travels (περίοδοι) of Peter, the Travels of John, the Travels of Thomas, the Gospel of Thomas, the *Teaching* (διδασχῆ) of *Apostles*, the Clementines. Similarly,* at the end of a Paris MS. of the Questions of Anastasios

* For the three following references (which however we have verified) we are indebted to Bryennios.

of Antioch (d. 599), we find classed among apocryphal books the Travels (περίοδοι) and *Teachings* (διδασκαί) of the Apostles. The Stichometria of Nicephoros of Constantinople (d. 820) enumerates among the Apocrypha of the New Testament, between the Gospel of Thomas and the Epistles of Clement, the *Teaching* (διδασχῇ) of Apostles, and tells us the work consisted of 200 stichoi or lines. Perhaps the latest witness to the survival of a book with similar title (unless indeed he is merely copying Eusebios) is Nicephoros Callistos (14th century); he places among spurious writings the Epistles purporting to be by Barnabas and “the so-called *Teachings* (διδασκαί) of the Apostles.”

These testimonies are here recounted in order to exhibit the external evidence hitherto available to prove the existence of a book (or books) long forgotten; and to indicate also the position assigned to it (or them) by early writers. For we may fairly ask whether these various notices necessarily point to one and the same work. The title, as given by Eusebios, by Anastasios, and by the later Nicephoros is in the plural form, while St. Athanasios, the *Synopsis*, and the earlier Nicephoros use the singular. But the difference here (as Bryennios remarks) is not so great as we find in the usage of Epiphanius, who cites the Apostolic Constitutions (διαταγαί) sometimes as διάταξις, sometimes as διατάξεις. On other grounds we may perhaps be led to apportion the testimonies above cited between two distinct works.

I.

In 1838 Cardinal Mai printed, in the tenth and last volume of his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, some works of the Nestorian bishop Ebediesu, who became Metropolitan of Nisibis A.D. 1286. Ebediesu's collection of Synodical Canons opens with a portion of a Syriac document, professing to give Canons instituted by the Apostles themselves. Along with this, Mai prints a Latin version, corrected from one made by Joseph Aloysius Asseman

(1710—1782), but not published by him. The Syriac original was re-edited in a complete form by Lagarde in 1856* from a MS. which describes it as the *Teaching of Addaeus the Apostle* (a title which properly belongs to another piece). At length by Cureton in 1864 the work was edited† with its proper title *Teaching of the Apostles*‡ from a British Museum MS. (containing documents connected with Edessa) collated with another MS. in the same store of Syriac literature, and with Lagarde's edition. Cureton's English version, revised by Pratten, will be found in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. XX.§

The structure of this piece is threefold. First comes a quasi-historical account of the descent of the Paraclete on the *eleven* Apostles, of whom Simon Cephas is alone mentioned by name. Then follow twenty-seven Ordinances appointed by the Apostles “in accordance with the Gospel of their preaching, and with the true and faithful doctrine of their teaching;” this being the only portion of the work which professes to be of direct apostolic authority. From this section many later writers have drawn (notably the compiler of the eighty-five Ecclesiastical Canons, frequently appended to bk. viii. of the Apostolic Constitutions); as a delineation of an early stage and a local form of the Christian organisation, this section of the document is exceedingly precious. Lastly comes an account of the pursuit of their mission by the Apostles, and of the arrangements made to continue their work. Here a curious list of apostolic

* In the *Reliquiae Juris Ecclesiastici Antiquissimae* (Vienna). It is not to be confounded with a previous (anonymous) publication by Lagarde, the *Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace*, Lipsiae, 1854; this latter is an epitome (Lagarde thinks it the original) of the Apostolic Constitutions, books I.—VI., and similar in character to the Arabic *Didascalia*, and to the Ethiopic *Didiskalia* (edited and translated by T. P. Platt, 1834).

† It is unfortunately in a posthumous publication, for which the intended preface was never written. Bryennios, who otherwise seems to know everything, appears to be unacquainted with Cureton's researches.

‡ Cureton translates *Malphonutho* by *Doctrine*; with Pratten we prefer *Teaching*. It represents ἡ διδασχῇ in Apoc. ii. 14, 15, 24.

§ Pratten's careless note, p. 36, should be corrected by Cureton, pp. 166-7.

names may be gathered, viz., James, Mark the Evangelist, Judas Thomas, Simon Cephas (who is said to have evangelised Britain), John the Evangelist, Andrew, Luke the Apostle, Addaeus (*i.e.*, Thaddaeus) the Apostle, "one of the seventy-two Apostles." Paul is twice mentioned, but without the title of Apostle; others are named as disciples of Apostles, the first among these being Timothy, Erastus, and Menaüs.

Is this the document to which the early notices allude? Its designation and its antiquity are so far in its favour. The title corresponds with the attestation of St. Athanasios (though by Ebediesu, and in a codex mentioned by Cureton, it is quoted as *Canons of the Apostles*.) A reference to subdeacons (Ord. 5) brings the period of the existing recension to the latter part of the third century*; but there are indications of much earlier date. The name of Bishop does not occur; but the office is described, under the designation of Guide. The Canon of Scripture is thus given (Ord. 10): "The Apostles appointed that besides the Old Testament and the Prophets and the Gospel and the Acts of their own triumphs, nothing should be read on the pulpit in the church." Here Old Testament means exclusively the Law; just as New Testament, in the sequel to the Ordinances, means exclusively the Gospel. In that sequel, "the Epistles of an Apostle" (specifying the writings of James, Simon, John, Mark, Andrew, Luke, and Judas Thomas, but not mentioning Paul) are directed, on the authority of the Guides, to be "received and read in the churches," even as the "Acts, which Luke wrote, are read."

If now we take this book and compare it with the testimony of Eusebios, we can see that, whatever be its value in other respects, there is a clear principle which would lead him to class it with those writings which he designates as spurious. That is a term which properly covers

* In the East, St. Athanasios is the first to mention *υποδιδάκονοι*; but Eusebios chronicles their existence at Rome about A.D. 250, on the authority of a letter of Pope Cornelius (E. H. vi. 43).

books professing an authorship which does not belong to them. Now the Syriac *Teaching* claims to give a series of Ordinances on direct apostolic authority; and this is a claim which Eusebios would assuredly reject, on perusing the treatise. And that he had perused it is a thing in itself highly probable, since he copied and translated from Syriac documents in the archives of Edessa both the account of the alleged correspondence between Abgar and Jesus, and the above-mentioned *Teaching of Addaeus* (E. H. i. 13).

If, again, we consider the witness of the pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis* and of Anastasios, we shall be very much inclined to say: Here is the writing of which they speak. They agree in placing the *Teaching* or *Teachings of the Apostles* among works of a certain class. Looking to the contents of this Syriac piece, it seems no way out of place among writings professing to give an account of the apostolic peregrinations.

But if, on the other hand, we consult St. Athanasios himself, we find him including the *Teaching* called of the *Apostles* among authorised materials for the instruction of catechumens; and this description corresponds neither with the original purpose nor with the conceivable uses of the Syriac *Teaching*. St. Athanasios is evidently not writing at random. The other books placed by him in the same class with the *Teaching* might well be employed in catechetical instruction on the conduct of life. We should certainly expect the *Teaching* itself to bear the same character. But the Ordinances of the Syriac piece are all *ad clerum*; they deal with ministerial duties and ministerial disqualifications; even the pseudo-history which accompanies them has the distinct design of exhibiting a charter of apostolic succession for clerical use. Again, it is difficult to suppose that St. Athanasios would be willing to commend for the instruction of neophytes a treatise dealing with Scripture as we have seen that the Syriac document deals; ignoring the writings of Paul, and admitting apocryphal Epistles to a level with the Acts.

We thus reach the position that while the Syriac *Teaching* may very probably be the work alluded to by Eusebios, by the *Synopsis*, and by Anastasios, it cannot reasonably be identified with the work to which St. Athanasios refers.

II.

In 1875 Philotheos Bryennios published his edition of the Two Epistles of St. Clement of Rome, from a Greek MS., No. 456 in the Library of the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople, belonging to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, and hence called by him the *Jerusalem Manuscript*. It is a small octavo of 120 leaves (size, 19 by 15 centimetres), written throughout in a contracted hand by a notary named Leon, and completed (with the exception of the last article) on Tuesday, 11th June, 1056. Included in it are eight distinct articles, or groups of articles; (1) St. John Chrysostom's Synopsis of the Old Testament; imperfect, yet supplying the hitherto missing conclusion of the Prophets; (2) the Epistle of Barnabas, in full; (3) St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians (the only perfect copy) followed by the short homily which is called the Second Epistle; (4) the Hebrew and Greek titles of Old Testament books; (5) the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*; (6) the Epistle (spurious) of Mary of Cassobola to St. Ignatios; (7) twelve Epistles (spurious) of St. Ignatios; (8) an explanation of the genealogies of Joseph in Matthew and Luke.

The appearance of Bryennios' admirable edition of Clement at once excited a high degree of interest among European scholars. It was the sudden shining of a new and bright star in the East; and the gratitude of the learned world for the labours of the erudite Metropolitan of Serrae took the sincerest and most complimentary form, when the hope was expressed that he would make public the further contents of the *Jerusalem Manuscript*. This, having meantime been raised to the Metropolitan see of Nicomedia (where he sits on the throne of that other Eusebios, greater in ambition and in brilliancy, deeper also

in heretical dye, than him of Caesarea), he has done. The entire contents of the volume (excepting only article 6) have now been edited. Its Ignatian readings were included in Funk's *Opera Patrum Apostolicorum*, vol. ii., 1881; all other various readings and additional pieces are furnished in the ample prolegomena and appendices accompanying the *editio princeps* of the *Διδαχὴ τῶν ἐβ' ἀποστόλων*, 1883.

If the edition of Clement awakened attention and curiosity, the appearance of the *Didaché* has produced nothing short of a sensation.* Bryennios, who does not seem to have been alive to its character in 1875, is now fully impressed, after seven years' close editorial study, with the extraordinary value of this treatise in its bearing upon Christian literature and history, on such points, for example, as the simplicity of worship, the position of the ministry and of the Scriptures. With regard to the critical study of the various works which may be ranked in the general class of quasi-Apostolic Constitutions, he surmises that it will roll the stream of Lethe over most of what has hitherto been written on this subject. His editing of the work has been executed with remarkable care,† and with a singularly rich apparatus both of patristic and of modern learning. The judgments which may be formed by scholars on a critical examination of his document, Bryennios does not seek to anticipate; but with a full and able hand he pours into his prolegomena and notes, written in smooth and excellent Greek,‡ the main materials which must be employed in any such examination.

* Two reprints of the Greek have been issued in the United States, one with a translation and preface by Hitchcock and Brown, the other with a version by Fitzgerald. Our home scholars have shown no such enterprise. There is also a translation by Starbuck in the *Andover Review*; and another in the *American Sunday School Times*, 23rd April. This last is deservedly described as "more exact than any other now before the public." We should have been glad to have seen it before issuing our own version.

† Except the one *lapsus calami*, p. 51, n. 1 (*χειροτονήσατε* for *προχειρίσασθε*), already observed by Canon Wordsworth (*Guardian*, 19th March), we have noted no sign of nodding. The freedom from misprints is such as to make one wish that the Constantinopolitan firm of Boutyra would open a London branch.

‡ Not "modern Greek," as Archdeacon Farrar loosely says (*Contemporary and Expositor* for May).

Before we proceed to a detailed account of the work, let us ask how far it fulfils the conditions of those patristic notices of the *Teaching* by which we have already tested the claim of the Syriac document. To begin with, the title of the Greek document does not exactly correspond with that given in any one of these notices. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, is the scribe's heading; *Teaching of [the] Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the nations** is the title self-assumed by the document which he copies. Thus "the Twelve" must be regarded as an integral part of the title; where this precision is not found, the actual name of the work is not given. We are so habituated to the limitation of the word Apostles to those appointed by Jesus Christ in person, that the omission of the defining words "the Twelve" may seem to us a matter of no moment. But a glance at the *Teaching* reveals the force of the restricting numeral; "apostles" are freely mentioned in it, but they are the ordinary mission-agents of the Gospel; the *Teaching* claims for itself an authority anterior, even if not superior, to theirs.

Here let us say, once for all, that in weighing this and other points we are placed at a disadvantage by being at the mercy of a single copyist. Leon, though his curst contractions† entitle him to his self-inflicted appellation of "sinner," is a very workmanlike scribe; his mere *incuriae* are extremely few; probably only six in his whole transcript of the *Teaching*; and where, in other pieces, he differs from rival copyists, he is far more often right than wrong, judging by the superior sense of his version. Indeed, if we have a complaint against him, it is that his text is even too good. We should have expected, nay, welcomed, more inequalities, more knotty places, more of the harsh signs of crabbed age in his document, than we actually find. It is a relief to encounter a few verbal difficulties, where, as a rule, all is such plain perspicuous Greek. On the other hand, as

* We are reminded of the direction to the eleven, Matthew xxviii. 19, 20, to go and make πάντα τὰ ἔθνη disciples by baptism διδάσκοντες κ.τ.λ.

† See page of specimens of his handwriting in fac-simile at the end of Bryennios' edition of Clement.

this is the only text we have, and one that has evidently been prepared with much care, we are bound, even in suspicious cases, to adhere to it wherever it is capable of yielding a meaning, for, in truth, we have little more than mother wit to check it by.*

Let us proceed to try our witnesses. Might Eusebios have had this work in view when he classed the *Teachings of the Apostles* among spurious books? It is most unlikely. On the part of the work before us there is not the shadow of a claim to the dignity of apostolic authorship. The claim it makes is to convey the subject matter of the Apostles' teaching, or rather of their presentation of the Lord's teaching, but not as under their hands or from their mouths. A book of this kind may err; but unless its error involve the deliberate assertion of a new Gospel, “spurious” is not the head under which a careful writer like Eusebios would naturally classify it.† And with the testimony of Eusebios goes that of Nicephoros Callistos.

Nor, again, does the work class well with those which compose the shady list presented in the pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis*. These are all romances, pseudo-history with a pious design, as far removed as possible in structure and in character from the strain and substance of the *Teaching*. The same may be said of the collocation indicated by Anastasios.

When we come to Nicephoros of Constantinople, we get an indication of the size of the work, of which Bryennios is disposed to make some use. The *Teaching* known to Nicephoros was a treatise of 200 lines. Now the *Teaching* in

* Bryennios has given us in foot-notes the exact state of the MS. wherever he alters the text. We wish he had reversed the process, reserving all emendations for the foot of the page. His changes, though very sparing, are not always necessary. Thus, following the lead of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, he alters to “fleshly and worldly lusts” because “fleshly and bodily” is tautological. Not wholly so, perhaps; for 1 John, ii. 16 may help us to an available distinction. Nor is the emendation a happy one, for κοσμικός in the *Teaching* is not used in a moral sense.

† Harnack does not question that Eusebios refers to the Greek document; nevertheless, he says of it that it is “ein Apokryphum, aber ein Falsum darf man sie nicht nennen.”—Theol. Lt. Zg. 9th Feb., 1884, p. 52.

the *Jerusalem Manuscript* occupies about 203 lines. But this measurement, so far from favouring the identity of the two, is an argument against it. Nicephoros fixes the combined length of the two Epistles of Clement at 2,600 lines; they occupy in the *Jerusalem Manuscript* 1,120 lines.* What then, on this calculation, should be the length, in the *Jerusalem Manuscript*, of Nicephoros' 200-line tractate? Not 203, but only some 86 lines. This would imply a very much shorter document than either the Greek or the Syriac *Teaching*. To suit the requirements of our Greek document the estimate in Nicephoros' stichometry would have to be increased to 455 lines, instead of 200.

On the other hand, the place which St. Athanasios assigns to the *Teaching*, while quite unsuitable, as we have seen, to the Syriac work, exactly fits the Greek document. It is precisely a book for those just coming to Christianity and desiring elementary catechetical instruction.† Moreover the relation which it bears to some of its companions in St. Athanasios's list, *e.g.*, Ecclesiasticus and the *Shepherd*, is one of real kinship, both as regards the distinctive purpose of its opening sections, and the ethical tone of the whole. Add to this that we may almost certainly say that St. Athanasios borrows from the *Teaching*. For he uses (on Matt. vii. 15) the remarkable word *χριστέμπορος*,‡ or Christ-monger, and in a connection which closely recalls the prudent directions of the *Teaching* about knowing false prophets by their works and ways.

Bryennios, however, points to an earlier and more weighty citation of the *Teaching* than this. He affirms that Clement of Alexandria (d. 220) "reckons this book among the Holy Scriptures, and plainly thus exhorts its authority." The reference is to *Strom.* i. 20, where Clement is speaking of

* See Bryennios' Clement, p. 142, n. 4.

† Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386) advises catechumens not to read apocryphal writings (Catech. iv.), a proof that they were in vogue.

‡ Subsequently to St. Athanasios it is found in pseudo-Ignatius (ad Magnes, c. 9; ad Trall, c. 6). It is desirable to note that it occurs in the later part of the *Teaching* (c. xii.); for Hilgenfeld thinks that only the earlier part could have been described by St. Athanasios as meant for catechumens (Zeitschr. f. w. Th. 1884, iii. 370).

the philosophic Christian who imports into his system ideas appropriated from the false teachings of heathen sages. "This man," he says, "is called thief by the Scripture, at least it says (φησὶ γοῦν*) 'Son, become not a liar, for lying leads the way towards theft.'" Here is no avowed citation of the *Teaching*, but a *memoriter* quotation of a saying which, occurring in the *Teaching*, occurs also in another work, the *Epitome of Rules*, of which more anon. Clement does not give the saying in the exact words of either work, but he comes slightly nearer to the *Epitome* form than to that of the *Teaching*. That he deliberately assigns to either one or other the authority of Holy Scripture is an unwarrantable inference from his language. Rather should we conclude that the saying had come to his mind with a general impression that he had read it somewhere in Scripture; it seems, in fact, to be based on Prov. xxx. 6—9, a passage the strain of which suits Clement's curious application of the words he quotes (viz., that dabblers in false, *i.e.*, heathen philosophy, are plagiarists to boot) far better than does the context either of *Epitome* or *Teaching*.†

All then that we can say about the correspondence of the Greek *Teaching* with the patristic notices of a work bearing a similar but defective title, is simply this. A *prima facie* probability allows us to believe that through the discovery of Bryennios we have in our hands the work characterised by St. Athanasios. But there is absolutely no proof of the fact. What St. Athanasios knew as the *Teaching of the Apostles* may have been something much shorter than the newly-discovered *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, something answering to the measurement of Nicephoros.‡

* By φησὶ Clement of Alexandria sometimes means "it is said"; but we may allow the meaning here to be as above.

† Eusebios gives a list (E.H. vi. 13) of disputed Scriptures quoted by Clement in the *Stromateis*. He does not mention the *Teaching*; yet he can hardly have overlooked the citation discussed above, for he expressly refers to what immediately follows it. This is a fact of weight. It shows at any rate that Eusebios did not recognise, in the *Teaching* which he knew, the source of Clement's quotation.

‡ In pseudo-Cyprian *De Aleatoribus* there is a quotation from *Doctrinae Apostolorum*, which corresponds to nothing either in the Syriac or the Greek

Bryennios has not even attempted to demonstrate that the treatise he has discovered is a treatise alluded to by any ancient writer. He has simply taken this for granted. He has taken for granted that all allusions to a *Διδαχὴ* or *Διδαχαί* are allusions to the newly-found book; though (1) the book is not cited with its proper title in any ancient author; (2) there is no description of its contents available for its identification; (3) nor any indisputable quotation from it.

III.

Slight as is the external attestation to the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, its intrinsic value and interest are superlatively great. To a certain extent it at once authenticates itself, and did the whole treatise bear the stamp of certain parts, we should pronounce it one of the oldest of Christian writings. But, though it has been carefully worked over by a compiler of strong individuality, it reveals traces of its heterogeneous origin. Bryennios directs us to find its date between the years 120 and 160 A.D. We think the former year too late for some of its contents, the latter too early, if not for the general form of the whole, at any rate for some points in the existing recension.

The structure of the work is simple enough; it falls into four main sections, of which the first three deal respectively with Character, Churchmanship, and the Hierarchy, while the fourth is an Appendix, presenting an important accession to the Hierarchy section, and adding the Kyriophany. On a first perusal, the little work seemed at once familiar and unfamiliar. It was like viewing the picture, taken in his early prime, of a friend whom we had only known in very advanced life. The *Teaching* is manifestly the original of bk. vii., chaps. 1—32, of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, chapters which present the identical matter and the identical arrangement, point for point, of the *Teaching*, but with ex-

Teaching. Hilgenfeld thinks it sufficiently like a passage in the Greek *Teaching*, chap. xv., to suggest the hypothesis of another recension of this work.

cisions, variations, and additions of the fourth century. These variations we shall not pursue, as our concern is rather with the antecedents and contemporaries than with the spurious reproduction of the work.*

For the first two sections a plain hint (almost a digest in miniature) is supplied in Peter's third Pentecostal speech (Acts ii. 40—42): “Be ye saved from this crooked † generation. Then they that received his word were baptized. . . . And they were steadfastly adhering τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς.” Assuredly here is the germ of the work; here is the outline which has been filled up and added to.

CHARACTER.

In the working out of the scheme, the Character-section (Two Ways), which fills chapters i—v., bulks more largely than any of the others, in accordance with the author's strong ethical motive. It is also more composite, and exhibits more clearly the rings of its growth.

The Two Ways, or norm of conduct, is evidently a piece of very early and not improbably of pre-Christian origin. The antithesis, of which it is an expansion, is found verbally in Jerem. xxi. 8; and, with a more distinctly moral application, in Deut. xxx. 15—20. Innumerable are the references to this antithesis, both in canonical and extra-canonical writings. But the first systematic working out of the moral contrast is the “Testament of Aser, concerning Two Faces of Badness and Virtue,” in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, apparently a pre-Christian work which has been retouched from an early Christian standpoint.‡ Here, however, the ὁδοὶ δύο “which God

* Bryennios has shown that not only is book vii., 1—32, a reproduction of the *Teaching*, but the other books, both earlier and later, betray an acquaintance with its language. The *New York Independent* of 1st May mentions an article by Prof. J. C. Long in the *National Baptist* which reverses the position, making the *Teaching* “as late as or later than” the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

† Barnabas uses the same term (crookedness) of the Way of Death.

‡ We hold in the main with Grabe, though considering the work, as we have it, not so much interpolated as rewritten, perhaps on an Aramaic

has given to the sons of men " are subjective tendencies ; the good man follows the direction of righteous principle, rejecting the evil mind within him * ; the bad man tries to act on two sets of principles, and thus becomes "two-faced." There are traces of this also in the *Teaching*, which is particularly rich in such terms as two-minded, two-tongued, double-heartedness, and the like.†

Now there seem to have been other pieces, which are lost, exhibiting the Two Ways as outward lines of conduct, good and bad, and we can trace in the *Teaching* the blending of two such pieces. One of these is embedded in a work first printed by J. W. Bickell, in 1843,‡ and subsequently edited by Lagarde, 1856, and by Hilgenfeld, 1866, from whom Bryennios reprints it in his prolegomena for purposes of comparison. The other is the Appendix to the Epistle of Barnabas.

Of the former piece there exists but one complete MS. (at Vienna) with the title *Constitutions through Clement and Canons Ecclesiastical of the Holy Apostles*.§ Apparently it is, as Hilgenfeld conjectures, the treatise referred to by Rufinus (after Jerome) under the double title *Duae Viae* or *Judicium Petri*, titles which answer respectively to two distinct parts of the work.|| Under the title *Epitome of Rules*

basis. For the opposite view (viz., that it was originally the work of a Jewish Christian), and for the literature of the subject, see Sinker's admirable edition, 1869, with Appendix, 1879. See also Sinker's translation, in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. xxii., 1871. The Muggletonians, on their Prophet's authority, accept the *Testaments* as the actual writing of the Patriarchs, and as one of the most valuable books in the Canon of Scripture.

* This is the essence of the Muggletonian ethical doctrine of salvation ; Faith being the stable principle, as opposed to Reason, the shifting principle.

† So too the *Epitome*, and, in a less degree, the Barnabas-appendix.

‡ *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, vol. i., pp. 107—132.

§ There is an Arabic and an Ethiopic translation, under the title *Canons of the Apostolic Fathers*. The Ethiopic text was published by Ludolf as early as 1691 (with a Latin version) in his *Ad Hist. Aeth. Comment.* The Arabic text, described by Grabe in 1711, has not been edited, so far as we know.

|| Of these parts, the latter is similar in aim to the Hierarchy section of the *Teaching*, but it exhibits a much more matured hierarchy ; bishop, presbyter, reader, deacon.

of the *Holy Apostles*, an Ottobonian MS. presents us with the first part only (*Duae Viae*); corroborating the view of the Character section as an independent document, a manual of religious ethics, lost in its original form, yet still circulating sometimes separately, sometimes in conjunction with other matter.*

Bryennios treats the *Epitome* as borrowed from the *Teaching*; but here we cannot follow him. The resemblances are so close that it is clear there has been copying; and the *Epitome* is the later document. Yet we do not think the Epitomiser had the *Teaching* before him, for the following reasons: 1. There is nothing in the *Teaching* which explains its own phrase "through the Twelve Apostles." Now the *Epitome* sets out with an enumeration of twelve names (they are not called Apostles), "John and Matthew and Peter and Andrew and Philip and Simon and James and Nathanael and Thomas and Cephas and Bartholomew and Judas of James."† They are made interlocutors in a sort of dramatic dialogue, in which they give utterance to the several points of the instruction. We think the compiler of the *Teaching* must have seen the Two Ways presented in this form.‡ 2. There are traces of this dialogue arrangement still extant in the *Teaching*; witness the six-times repeated "My child." The interlocutors begin thus in the Vienna MS.; in the *Teaching* this phrase looks like an unremoved excrescence on the assimilated matter.§ 3. If the

* The *Epitome*, at the beginning, recites the establishment of the full hierarchy, so that it is not the lost original.

† Who were the Twelve Apostles? Donaldson (*Jashar*, 1854, and *Christian Orthodoxy*, 1857) has shown the difficulty of gathering an accurate list, even from the New Testament. We have sometimes thought the variations in early writers explicable on the hypothesis of a filling up of the apostolic college, so long as witnesses to the fact of the Resurrection survived; compare the case of the election of Matthias.

‡ In the *Epitome* John leads off, at the request of the rest; in the Hierarchy-section, appended in the Vienna MS., Peter leads off, on a similar request. This, as Hilgenfeld well says, may explain the second title *Judicium Petri*.

§ The Epitomiser has removed it, perhaps thinking it unsuitable from Apostle to Apostle; but originally it may have been the address of the apostolic speaker to the catechumen.

Epitomiser had the *Teaching* before him, it is difficult to see why he should have forborne to quote anything from the most important passages in its first chapter, and should have left the fifth chapter (Way of Death) wholly untouched. 4. Even in Chaps. ii., iii., iv. of the *Teaching*, where the coincidences with the *Epitome* are close and verbal, the following special vices are enumerated, of which the *Epitome* is silent: stealing, magical practices, lust of another's goods,* sodomy, forswearing, neglect of the religious education of children, ill-usage of slaves, disobedience to masters, and going to prayer with an evil conscience. How can we explain such omissions as the action of a copyist? 5. The *Teaching* does not appear to be the original norm, inasmuch as (differing from the *Epitome* and Barnabas-appendix) it excludes all reference to diabolical influence, a very remarkable omission, showing strong individuality, and corresponding with the total absence of angels from the Kyriophany. Now it must be owned that the presence of Satan is very characteristic of early Christian and late Jewish documents; and we see here an indication that the Epitomiser had access to an older form of the Two Ways than that given in the *Teaching*.

We come now to the Barnabas-appendix. From Barnabas proper, there is one manifest plagiarism in the *Epitome*; the opening salutation of the *Epitome* is taken verbatim from the opening words of the Epistle. The Epistle then is older than the *Epitome*, and *a fortiori* older than the *Teaching* form of the Two Ways. But we must distinguish carefully between the Barnabas-Epistle itself and the Barnabas-appendix on the Two Ways. Of this latter the old Latin version of Barnabas† knows nothing; but has *Explicit Epistola Barnabae* at the close of Chap. xvii., which it winds up with a doxology not found in the existing Greek. In our present Greek copies it occurs as

* Certainly there are indirect allusions to these three; which makes the direct exclusion of them inexplicable. Barnabas-appendix also omits all the above vices except the third and fourth. The Ethiopic text contains the first four.

† In the *Codex Corbeiensis*, now at St. Petersburg.

Chaps. xviii.—xx. of Barnabas, introduced by the significant words “Let us pass to another gnosis and teaching (*διδασχῆ*).”

In the Barnabas-appendix there is evidence of a special adaptation of the phraseology of a common document to the mystical point of view of the Barnabas gnosis. The Two Ways are characteristically presented not as ways of good and evil (as in Aser's Testament), nor of life and death (as in the *Epitome* and *Teaching*), but of light and darkness;* and we read of “the gnosis given to us” for walking in the way of light. The practical precepts are here culled in very little consecutive order, seemingly as memory suggested them; they consist almost entirely of a cento of prohibitions. One is repeated (“Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour”). The Barnabas-appendix is certainly the rudest of the three documents, but with the rudeness of the unskilled compiler. In fact it is a jumble, suggesting no clue to its own arrangement. It might almost be explained on the hypothesis of *memoriter* borrowing from the *Teaching*.

The *Shepherd*, anciently ascribed to one Hermas, is reckoned by Bryennios, along with Barnabas, among the sources of the *Teaching*; and here we agree with him. The *Shepherd* has very distinct opinions on the subject of almsgiving and of paying prophets. It says (Com. 2):

To all who are in want, give simply, not doubting to whom thou mightst give, or to whom thou mightst not give; give to all, for unto all God wills that gifts be made of his own free-gifts. They therefore who take, shall render account to God wherefore they took and for what; for they that being afflicted take shall not be judged; but they that in hypocrisy take shall stand trial. He, then, that giveth is guiltless; for as he took from the Lord to fulfil the ministry, he fulfilled it simply, no way discriminating to whom he might give or might not give. This ministry, then, simply fulfilled, was made glorious with God. He therefore, thus simply ministering, shall live unto God.

This is indiscriminate almsgiving; but the *Teaching*, in a

* Yet “death's way” is incidentally mentioned, and “the way of the black one” is called “an eternal way of death with torment;” expressions which show the half-digested manner in which the Barnabas-appendix deals with its material.

passage to which the *Epitome* has no parallel, is much more explicit in its cautions both to giver and taker.

He [that taketh], having no need, shall stand trial, why he took and for what, and being put in distress, he shall be examined about the things which he practised, and shall not come forth thence until he give back the last farthing.

Here is a distinctly human, whereas the *Shepherd* contemplates only a divine judgment. The giver, too, is warned in the remarkable saying, quoted as of Scriptural authority: "It hath been said: 'Let thine almsgiving sweat into thine hands until thou know to whom thou givest.'"*

So, again, the *Shepherd* (Com. 11) is strongly against any stated maintenance for the prophets; they are to subsist on charity. The *Teaching* traverses this position in its Hierarchy-section. Charity is to be only a temporary expedient, to meet the case of the destitute and the traveller; every Christian must work; and the working prophet, the teacher who settles in a given place, is to have his regular maintenance of first fruits. In both passages we give priority to the *Shepherd*; the Didachographer, with his shrewd sense, is the corrector.

Accordingly, we stratify thus the Character section of the *Teaching*. (First comes the Two Ways antithesis, in its simplest form, as in the *Epitome*; on the one hand, the two-fold positive precept, Love God and thy neighbour, this being the finger-post of the Way of Life; on the other hand, a negative rendering of the golden rule, Do *not* to another what thou wouldst *not* wish for thyself, this being the finger-post of the Way of Death. Secondly comes, from the Sermon on the Mount, and from the *Shepherd* as corrected, a commentary on the Way of Life. Thirdly, the parallel with the *Epitome* is resumed, in the words "Now a second commandment of the teaching;" and it is remarkable that what the *Epitome* gives as its expanded comment on the *negative* precept, is here presented as an

* This has been rendered as if it were "Let thine alms drop *from* thine hands, so long as thou knowest," &c. In either case it is a caution against indiscriminate giving.

alternative version of the Way of Life*. Fourthly, yet another passage of comment on the Way of Life is given, containing the rules about education and slaves, &c., unknown to the *Epitome*; at the close is a marked sign of late workmanship, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ for "in church." Lastly, comes an account of the Way of Death, the prototype of that in the Barnabas-appendix, unless we prefer to consider it derived by both *Teaching* and Appendix from a common document.†

CHURCHMANSHIP.

We pass from the Character section to the Churchmanship section. We shall consider it in two divisions—(1) the Eucharistic Prayers; (2) the other ordinances.

1. The Prayers it may be well to set out in full. This is the thankoffering concerning the cup :

We offer thee thanks, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, whereof thou gavest us knowledge through Jesus thy servant; to thee the glory unto the ages.

And this, concerning the bread (κλάσμα) :

We offer thee thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge whereof thou gavest us knowledge through Jesus thy servant; to thee the glory unto the ages.

Like as this broken piece had been scattered upon the hills, and being brought together became one, so let thy Church be brought together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ unto the ages.

Lastly, after the sufficing (ἐμπλησθῆναι) :

We offer thee thanks, Holy Father, for thy holy name, where thou didst tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge, and faith, and

* The *Epitome* is clearly right, and gives the older setting; this is properly an exposition of the Way of Death.

† Simply by a careful comparison of the data furnished in the *Epitome*, the Barnabas Appendix, and the *Apost. Const.*, Krawutsky was able, in 1882, to reconstruct the Two Ways document in a form which, so far as it goes, comes surprisingly close to that which it actually takes in the *Teaching*. See the *Tübingen Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1882, pt. 3. Harnack is right to claim this as a triumph of critical sagacity; we need not say that it bears out our view of the *Teaching* as a compilation. The second and fourth sections of the Two Ways, not being in the *Epitome*, are absent also from Krawutsky's able reconstruction.

immortality whereof thou gavest us knowledge through Jesus thy servant ; to thee the glory unto the ages.

Thou, Sovereign almighty, createdst all things for thy name's sake, food and drink thou gavest unto men for enjoyment that they might offer thee thanks, and unto us thou freely gavest spiritual food and drink, and life eternal through thy servant. Before all things we offer thee thanks that mighty art thou ; [to thee] the glory unto the ages.

Remember, Lord, thy Church, to deliver it from all evil and to perfect it in thy love ; and bring it together from the four winds, the sanctified unto thy kingdom, which thou preparedst for it, for thine is the power and the glory unto the ages.

Come grace, and pass this world away.

Hos anna to the God of David.

If any is holy let him come ; if any is not, let him repent ; maranatha. Amen.

Either we have here the most audacious of forgeries, or else a perfectly unique fragment of the earliest Christian antiquity. For forgery there is no discernible motive. These Prayers are certainly not invented in support of the Kyriology of the remainder of the document ; they stand apart in their naked Ebionism. Neither were they constructed in favour of the eucharistic doctrine which appears in Chaps. xiii. and xiv., for of this they breathe no whisper. The only points of possible suspicion about their language occur in the third and largest of them.

The expression, there, respecting the gift of "spiritual food and drink and life eternal" is found also in the *Epitome*. We may explain this as an interpolation in the Prayer ; or as a quotation on the part of the *Epitome*, and thus a confirmation of the age of the Prayers. In some respects it would be convenient to dismiss the phrase as an interpolation, for the order of participation which it implies is not that indicated in the arrangement of the Prayers. But this arrangement is in other respects untenable ; the Prayer in question, although given to be used after participation, closes with an invitation and prohibition which presuppose that participation is not yet begun. Indeed we are disposed to think that the Didachographer has arranged these Prayers simply according to size, and that this explains the inversion of the cup and the bread in the order of celebration. If this inversion belonged to the structure

of the Prayers, we might be tempted to discuss the question of its relation to the order of the Paschal rite, and to the *Codex Bezae* version of St. Luke's account of the Last Supper.* But seeing that the compiler has demonstrably misplaced the third Prayer, there is nothing unreasonable in the conjecture that he has misplaced the others also.

Besides this probable quotation from the *Epitome*, there is, in the third Prayer, a possible allusion to St. John's Gospel. Bryennios has noted that the invocation “Holy Father” occurs in John xvii. 11. But a stronger coincidence exists between “thy holy name, where thou didst tabernacle (κατεσκήνωσας) in our hearts,” and “the word . . . did tabernacle (ἐσκήνωσεν) in us” of John i. 14; and if this be a quotation, it is remarkable as suggesting a distinctly Ebionite interpretation of the Gospel phrase.†

For what use are these Prayers viewed by the compiler as designed? Are they liturgical, in the sense of being intended for recitation by a celebrant of the eucharistic rite? On the contrary, they are presented as devotions for the faithful (probably moulded on a pre-Christian norm, derived from words of blessing in use at Passover feasts), the *liturgia* proper being entrusted to “the prophets” (cf. Chaps. x., xiii.—xv.), who are the “high priests” to perform the “sacrifice.” Certainly there is nothing in them which suggests, even in germ, an act of consecration, or corresponds in any way to the contents of the simplest of the extant liturgies. They exhibit strong Hebraistic peculiarities. As in the Lord's Prayer (which is given with a doxology as the norm of Christian devotion), the object of worship is “our Father,” “holy Father.” Jesus is four times mentioned, thrice as the “servant” (παῖς) of God, once as “Christ”; in this last instance only, glory is ascribed to God through him. The description of “the holy vine of David thy servant, whereof thou gavest us knowledge

* The resort to *Codex Bezae* would suggest Western influence; Harnack will not admit the possibility of a Western origin of the *Teaching*.

† The rendering “in us” (instead of the usual “among us”) in John i. 14, is not adopted, so far as we know, by any English translator of the New Testament

through Jesus thy servant," is totally opposed to any identification of the cup with "a communion of the blood of Christ," as in St. Paul.* The bread represents, not the broken body of Christ, but the hope of unity for the scattered Church of God. No doubt, in St. Paul's phraseology, the Church is "the body of Christ," but the Prayer contains no hint of the Lord's body, even in this secondary sense. The third Prayer addresses the Hosanna† to the God of David, an expression which Bryennios treats as a scribe's error, yet it seems characteristic.

2. Rules about other ordinances (chaps. vi.-viii., xiv.) exhibit Jewish influence. The distinction of clean and unclean meats is not expressly mentioned, but in the caution about eating it is implied, and is directed to be observed as far as practicable, while the use of meats profaned by idol-sacrifice is strongly condemned. There is no absolute antagonism here to the permissions of St. Paul, but the point of view is much more rigid than his. The duty of giving first-fruits is insisted on, though there is no mention of tithe. On the other hand, the Jews are referred to as "the

* Does not the vine, like the bread, represent the Church? And is not "vine of David" the suggestion of a parallel between the kingdom that was, with David at its head, under God, and the kingdom to be, with Jesus at its head, under God? In Epiphanius (Haer. xlv. 4), we are told that "the Apostles say in the so-called *Constitution* (διάταξις) that 'God's planting and vineyard is the Catholic Church.'" This saying is nowhere found in the *Apost. Const.*

† The word is divided *ὡς ἀννά*, the same division being found in some MSS. of the Gospels. It seems to point to a false etymology. We have long thought that the explanations of Hosanna in early Christian writers were dependent on various misconstructions of the Hebrew. When, e.g., Clement of Alexandria (Paed. i. 5), quoted by Bryennios, gives *φῶς καὶ δόξα καὶ αἴνος μεθ' ἱκετηρίας* as the force of *ὡσαννά*, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that he has *φῶς αἴνος* in his mind, as a pseudo-etymon. This is mad enough as a piece of etymology, but not madder than many similar *tours de force*; not nearly so mad as the Barnabas explication (c. ix.) of the eighteen (י"ח) and three hundred (τ') circumcised men of Abraham's household as prefiguring Jesus and the cross. In the third Prayer of the *Teaching* the Hosanna immediately follows the aspiration "Come grace," &c. Hence we have been led to guess that *ὡς ἀννά* may in this case have been derived from חוּשִׁי חֲנָה "speed grace."

hypocrites," and their special fasting days (Monday and Thursday) and modes of prayer are to be shunned.

Fast is, however, to be kept on Wednesday and Friday ; almsgiving is a ransom for sins. The Lord's Prayer is to be recited thrice a day. The Eucharist is to be celebrated each Lord's Day, and is to be preceded by confession of transgressions "in church." When the Didachographer says (chap. iv.) "thou shalt not approach ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχὴν σου in an evil conscience," it may be doubtful whether he means "to thy praying-place," or "to thy prayer," but probably the former. The word is not used again.

In the regulations respecting Baptism (which is, of course, presented as an indispensable qualification for participating in the Eucharist) a change of person from plural to singular is indicative of an accretion of subsequent modifications upon the primary injunction to immerse in "living" *i.e.*, in running water. This rule is pronounced not indispensable in either of its parts. Running water is not essential, if it cannot conveniently be had.* Moreover, warm water is allowable in the absence of cold ; a provision which probably refers to Baptism in a public or private bath.† It can hardly refer to hot springs, as these would come under the head of running water. Most remarkable is the concession that trine effusion on the head is valid, where there is deficiency of water. Bryennios would restrict this to an occasion of necessity, such as clinical Baptism "in periculo mortis ;" but this is not the case contemplated. It would seem that we must revise the accepted account of the late origin of Baptism by mere effusion. Robert Robinson (p. 109) thinks he has proved that "the baptism of pouring, a mere vulgar error, may rank with the white

* Yet the Catholic tradition in favour of running water is so strong that, even in ordinary Baptism by sprinkling, the water must not simply be dropped upon the face, the drops must actually flow.

† Robert Robinson thinks that, while heathen baths were inadmissible as places for Baptism, owing to the idolatrous emblems, the baths of the Jews (and later of the Muhammadans) were used for this purpose. He says that "Christians who lived among the Moors were some of the last who erected baptisteries." (*Hist. of Baptism*, p. 64.)

pigeon of Ravenna." He explains even the frequent representation in early art, of the pouring of water on to the head of a person standing up to the waist in a stream, as a purely symbolical expedient of the artist, who of course could not draw a picture of a man wholly submerged. "What could he mean, except that to baptize was to wet all over, to cover the whole man with water?" And it is certain that no ecclesiastical decision in favour of the validity of baptism by mere effusion has been produced, prior to that of Pope Stephen III., A.D. 754, in response to the questions of monks in Brittany. Is the permission of a practice afterwards legitimised in the West* a misleading coincidence, or shall we add it to the other faint indications of Western influence in the *Teaching*? It will be observed that the *Teaching*, though twice giving the full formula, as in Matt. xxviii. 19, also mentions (chap. ix.) Baptism *εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου*. Now the only MSS. which in Acts x. 48 refer to Baptism *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου* are apparently Western (H, L, P.) †

The qualifications for Baptism are almost purely ethical, the preliminary instruction being in no way dogmatic, and no express stipulation being made as to the profession of a Creed by the neophyte. This must not be pressed too far; no doubt a general agreement with the prevailing standard of Christian opinion is presupposed. But the important thing is to observe that the acceptance of an ideal of Christian conduct forms the real test of admission to the Church; while, as we shall see immediately, the presence of a genuine Christian character is the express criterion of the validity of the ministry.

HIERARCHY.

The language of the *Teaching* respecting Church-officers has already raised a conflict of opinions as to its precise

* To this day the Eastern Church does not recognise the validity of Baptism without immersion.

† The reading is adopted in our A. V., but rejected by R.V. in favour of "in the name of Jesus Christ." We shall see, however, that *Κυρίου* and *τοῦ Κυρίου* are not the same thing.

significance*. It does not seem to us that the non-sacerdotal and non-hierarchical interpretation of chaps. xi. and xiii.—xv. can be sustained.† A primary order of ministers is first described, under the designation of apostles and prophets (cf. Eph. ii. 20, and especially Eph. iii. 5). They are apostles, as having a travelling mission‡; prophets, as belonging to a class of men who "speak in the spirit," and approved among such as men of faithful life and unselfish disinterestedness. The implication that there are Christians, speaking in the spirit, but, by reason of their selfish character, not entitled to rank as prophets, is very curious.§ Here, as elsewhere, the *Teaching* diverges from the *Shepherd*, who will not allow any but the disinterested prophet to be *pneumatophoros*. Perhaps the same tendency which leads the Didachographer to exclude the hypothesis of diabolical influence makes him forbear to distinguish between spirit and spirit. His ideal of the ethical requirements for a valid ministry is characteristic and sound. He would scarcely allow, with the twenty-sixth Anglican article, that Christians may resort to the ministry of evil men, "both in hearing the word of God, and in receiving of the Sacraments."

But even for the Church-teacher, no special dogmatic qualification is demanded. His teaching must fully endorse the rule of conduct and the simple ritual laid down for the general body of Christians; yet he has a large liberty in two important respects. He is not restricted to given forms

* Chap. xii. does not refer to the ministry, but to Christians in general. The word *παρόδιος* "on the road" (used classically of windows looking upon the road) can hardly define a professional itinerant.

† A warm controversy on the subject has been going on in the columns of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, Dean Reichel holding, with the Presbyterians, that the *Teaching* discredits High Church notions of Episcopacy.

‡ Note the *ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν* in 2 Cor. viii. 23; also the mention of Andronicus and Junias or Junia as distinguished *ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις*. Rom. xvi. 7.

§ The phrase is *ἐν πνεύματι*, but it will not do to translate "in a spirit." There is no doctrine in the *Teaching* of spirits, good and bad; nothing like the "believe not every spirit, but try the spirits if they be of God," in 1 Jo. iv. 1.

in celebrating the Eucharist.* And, though he may not contravene the ethical teaching of the Two Ways, or the ordinances of churchmanship, he may develop them, for "if one teach to increase righteousness and knowledge (gnosis) of the Lord, receive ye him as the Lord." Nay more, when the prophet, the minister of tried character, speaks in the spirit, it is the unpardonable sin to submit his utterance to test or criticism.

We must here advert to two very puzzling points in the Didachographer's description of the true prophet. "No prophet, $\acute{o} \rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$ a table in the spirit, will eat of it, unless indeed he is a false prophet." The text is not Greek. Bryennios corrects to $\acute{o}\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$, translates "ordering a table," and understands it of directing a meal to be prepared for the poor. It were better to render $\acute{o}\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$ by "assigning."† But the scribe is not likely to have bungled over so straightforward a word as $\acute{o}\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$. We prefer to think that the original was $\acute{o} \rho\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega\nu$, "who is offering"; certainly not a common word, and therefore more liable to be mistranscribed.‡ We have seen that there is a pronounced sacrificial element in the *Teaching*, so that "offering a table" may be admissible as a phrase for celebrating the Eucharist. But what will the caution imply? Not, surely, non-participation; but that the prophet will not profane a sacred ordinance to personal uses, by making a meal of the Eucharist; cf. 1 Cor xi. 22, 34. "What! have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? . . . If any man is hungry, let him eat at home."

More embarrassing is the statement respecting a true

* Bryennios compares the injunction, "Now to the prophets entrust ye to offer thanks as much as they will ($\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambdaουσιν$)" with the passage in which Justin Martyr (I. Apol. 67) says that the president "offers prayers and thanksgivings as much as he is able ($\acute{o}\sigma\eta \delta\acute{\upsilon}\nuαμ\iota\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$)"; and tries to show that both are compatible with the use of forms. So they are; but not with restriction to fixed forms.

† A friend suggests "limiting," and understands it of "fencing the tables." But it is hard to see why the exclusion of the unworthy should involve the non-participation of the celebrant.

‡ In the sacrificial sense, $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega$ is used only by the poets; but the word occurs in Plato.

prophet who is described as "ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κόσμικον ἐκκλησίας, but not teaching others to do as much as he doth himself." This man is not to be brought to human judgment; his judgment is with God; he acts as did the ancient prophets. Bryennios, who owns the passage to be "dark and obscure," thus tentatively translates the difficult clause: "constituting assemblies for a worldly mystery." By this he understands summoning the people to witness a symbolic action, such as Isaiah's "walking naked and barefoot" (Is. xx. 2), Ezekiel's shaving his head and beard (Ezek. v. 1), and the like. Yet is "constituting assemblies," in the classical sense, a likely use of the term ἐκκλησία, a term which occurs in two other places of the *Teaching* in the proper Christian acceptance? And would any one think of judging a prophet for not teaching others to perform purely symbolic acts? We render the clause "doing with an eye to the Church's mystery in the world."* But what does this mean?

We were at first inclined to borrow a light from a phrase of the Syriac *Teaching*, "as within the upper room the mystery of the body and blood of our Lord began to prevail in the world;" and thus to see an allusion to the sacrifice of Christ, as furnishing an ideal of life (cf. 2 Cor. iv. 11). The objection is that such an interpretation of the "mystery" implies a view of the Eucharist and of the work of Christ, foreign to the *Teaching*. The only λύτρωσις mentioned is of another kind, "in case ought thou hast, through thy hands shalt thou give a ransom of thy sins" (Ch. iv.) The only θυσία is not the sacrifice of Christ, but the thank-offering of the baptized. We therefore prefer to interpret the clause by help of the second Eucharistic Prayer, which speaks of the scattered Church of God, to be

* It is objected that ποιέω should not be taken absolutely, in the sense of "to act." The objection seems hypercritical, as there are a few classical examples of this, and many Hellenistic instances. But the difficulty may be removed by considering the clause "as much as he doth himself" to be the object of ποιῶν as well as of ποιεῖν. Were it not for the ordinary use of ποιέω in the immediate context, it might be tempting to take ποιῶν like ῥέζων in its technical sense of "sacrificing."

brought from the ends of the earth into his kingdom. The "Church's mystery in the world" is the hidden potency of the kingdom of God on earth; a promise, an aspiration, and a pattern. The spiritual prospect of its divine though latent glory supplies an ethical standard towards which the true prophet will ever seek to raise his own life; yet he may feel the unwisdom of preaching to the weak the perfection at which he aims. He treads in the steps of the prophets of old, who, exhibiting in their own persons the life of God's holiness, forbore to fix their precepts of obligation "too high For sinful men beneath the sky." This interpretation accords well with the ethical strain of the *Teaching*.

The primary ministers recognised in the *Teaching* fall into two classes; apostles, or missionary prophets, and prophets who are willing to settle* as ministers in a given place. The apostles are to stay not more than two days in one place, and are to be provided with food, lodging, and bread for their journey at the hands of the faithful, but are not to receive money, a rule which guards against a very obvious and not easily checked abuse of their function. But the prophet who settles is to have a public maintenance. He is "worthy of his meat"; the *Teaching* does not say, in our Lord's words, "worthy of his hire" (Luke x. 7), but he means the same thing. His stipend is not a fixed one, but, like the priest (Num. xviii. 12, 13) whose representative he is ("they are your high-priests"), he is to have the firstfruit of money and raiment as well as of produce and of prepared food, the amount of firstfruit being fixed at the discretion of the giver.† The poor

* The word is καθῆσαι (*bis*), a form (for καθῆσθαι) which we cannot find except in a var. lect. at Mark iv. 1. Schleusner gives ἐκάθησεν as occurring in a version of Judges v. 17.

† The word σιτία here used is not classical. It was understood by the *Apostolic Constitutions* as meaning "hot loaves." Sophocles' lexicon of later Greek (1870) gives it with the rendering "batch" (on the authority of two passages in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, A.D. 500, where it means "a batch of unbaked dough"). In the *Teaching* it probably means "a batch of fresh-baked bread;" though there is a possibility that it may be the scribe's spelling of σιτεία (like his εἰδωλολατρία (*quater*) for εἰδωλολατρεία), in which case it may mean "a feed," "a feast."

come in for firstfruit only in case there is no settled prophet.

APPENDIX.

1. It is clear that these apostles and prophets practically answer to the order otherwise distinguished as presbyters, a term which does not occur in the *Teaching*. And when we find in the first chapter (xv.) of the Appendix, that, in addition to them, bishops and deacons are to be elected by the Christian community, it is plain that a hierarchy is in full progress. This of itself would lead us to treat the chapter as discovering a new element in the *Teaching*.* It is a further sign of an altered state of things that in this Appendix the ministerial term "apostles" is dropped. Instead of "apostles and prophets" we here have "prophets and teachers" (*bis*). Now the "teacher" already occurs as distinct from the "prophet" in chap. xiii.; but in a duplicate clause which has the air of an after-thought, designed to countenance the position (side by side with the *quondam* missionary who has settled down) of the spiritual man who has never travelled. This latter is a link in the descent to the elected officer (cf. 1 Cor. xii. 20 for the source of the three terms).

No especial functions are assigned either to the bishops or the deacons. Degrees are indicated in these terms, but both degrees are entitled to celebrate the *liturgia*. The original meaning of deacon seems already disappearing or lost. As distinct from the prophets, whose ministry depends upon possession of the spirit, and exhibition of a consistent life, the other two orders occupy the position of a man-made ministry. They must be men of character, of the same stamp as is required in the case of the prophets; but mere election by a show of hands (*χειροτονήσατε*) constitutes their warrant of office; no sort of consecration, or succession, is hinted at.† Yet the *Teaching* directs that they are to be

* We shall give a linguistic reason for believing that chap. xv., in which the "bishops and deacons" section occurs, belongs to a distinct stratum of the *Teaching*.

† The *cheirotonesis*, or "stretching forth of hands" to vote, must not be confused with the *epithesis* or "laying on" of hands to ordain, mentioned in 1. Tim. and Heb.

honoured "along with" the prophets and teachers. It is easy to see how parity would be a step to pre-eminence. As the exalted level of the Church's life declined, the self-appointed teachers would gradually fall below the original standard; and, on the other hand, the Church would care less for the kind of gifts which they exercised, and more for qualities shown by the men of their own selection. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* the "apostles and prophets" are (save in one tell-tale phrase) wiped out altogether; their place is taken by *elected* presbyters. The *Teaching* exhibits the transition in process. Its author places himself on the side of the settled ministry, as against the travelling missionary; and firmly takes up the cause of the elected officers, in opposition to those who despised them.

We note that already church-courts were in operation for the trying of moral offences. They took cognisance of the selfishness of a grasping spirit, and compelled restitution (ch. i). Their action is probably indicated in the case of reproofs administered to the erring; and Christians convicted of wronging their fellows are to be subjected to a species of interdict—"let no one speak, nor listen of your own accord, till he have repented" (ch. xv.). But, as we have seen, they are not to sit in judgment on prophets whose practical teaching may not come up to the rigid standard of zealots (ch. xi.). No such thing as theological heresy is anywhere hinted at.

2. We now come to the Kyriophany (chap. xvi.). Who is the Kyrios?

Excepting in the Eucharistic Prayers, the name of Jesus Christ does not occur in the *Teaching*;* and besides the absence of the name, there is a total omission also of any reference to any facts distinctive of Christ's historic personality. The Nativity, the Miracles, the Parables, the Passion, the Resurrection of Jesus Christ are all passed

* Nor does it in the Third Epistle of St. John; or in the Shepherd, the Epistle to Diognetos, the writings of Athenagoras, Tatian, and Theophilus. Much might be said on this subject, but there is no room to discuss it here.

sub silentio. The three Prayers tell us respectively that “through Jesus thy servant” our Father made known (1) “the holy vine of David,” (2) “life and knowledge,” (3) “knowledge, faith, and immortality.” Further than this, only two utterances in the *Teaching* can be said to be directly connected with the Master; one is the Lord’s Prayer, the other the precept “Give not that which is holy unto the dogs.”* Extracts are given in chap. i. from the Sermon on the Mount, but there is no indication of their source. The “Gospel” is four times mentioned; in three places this may rightly be interpreted of the written record; but not so in chap. xi., where “the decree (δόγμα) of the Gospel” is invoked as the authority for the regulations about apostles and prophets.

In the full Baptismal formula, and in a passage of the Kyriophany, Christ is known as “the Son,” “God’s Son.” Elsewhere (excepting of course the Eucharistic Prayers) he is the Kyrios. But there is an ambiguity about this word. Throughout the Septuagint it represents (at second hand through Adhonai) the Tetragrammaton. In the New Testament, the prevailing, perhaps the universal, usage is that *Kύριος*, without the article, represents the Tetragrammaton, the incommunicable name of God,† while it is admitted on all hands that *ὁ Κύριος*, the Master, refers to Christ. In considering the usage of the *Teaching* we observe a peculiarity which marks off chapters xv.—xvi. from the rest, and compels us to treat them as a distinct stratum. This appendix presents no case of the anarthrous Kyrios; thrice it has Kyrios with the article, and twice (once in each chapter) *ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν*, “our Lord,” an expression which nowhere else occurs in the *Teaching*. The Kyrios of the

* An unusual application is made of this saying. It is very frequently employed, in patristic writers, as a warning against putting Christian truths before the unprepared multitude. Once it is applied as a caution against baptizing the unworthy. But in the *Teaching* it is used as a defence of the exclusion of the unbaptized from the Eucharist.

† The subject has been considered, with some dogmatic bias, by Pearson and Middleton. Without attempting here to discuss the question, we may simply state our conclusion that the anarthrous *Kύριος*, standing alone, invariably means Jehovah.

Kyriophany is therefore the unnamed Christ. But in the remainder of the *Teaching* we have Kyrios four times with the article—these places we may of course unhesitatingly interpret of Christ; and twelve times without the article—here the difficulty comes in. At first we were tempted, having reference to certain connections in which Kyrios occurs, to treat the omission of the article as insignificant, and to interpret the word as a mere synonyme for Christ. But on full consideration we reach the conclusion that Kyrios without the article, as in the New Testament so in the *Teaching*, means Jehovah. Hence we interpret the title of the work “Teaching of Jehovah through the twelve Apostles to the nations.” In chap. xi. we understand the meaning to be, if he that teacheth teach “to increase righteousness and knowledge of Jehovah, receive ye him as Jehovah” (*bis*).^{*} In the same chapter we interpret τοὺς τρόπους Κυρίου “Jehovah’s character” (cf. Mt. v. 48, Lk. vi. 36). And the expression (chap. xiv.) κυριακὴν Κυρίου we take, not as a mere tautology, but as “Jehovah’s Lord’s-day,” answering to “the Sabbath of Jehovah.”[†]

If then Κύριος means Jehovah, it becomes important to determine whether in this sense the term is applied to Christ. We must admit that there is a passage in which the title “God” is rendered to him. The master of slaves is exhorted (chap. iv.) not to lay orders in bitterness on his slave or handmaid, “lest they no more fear the God over both (τὸν ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέροις θεόν); for he cometh not to call with respect of person, but to those whom the spirit prepared.[‡] A modern reader, accustomed to a severely restricted use of the word God, must be warned against drawing, from this expression alone, too large an inference. Taken by itself, it is a phrase which an Arian would freely

^{*} Compare “He that receiveth you [whomsoever I send Jo. xiii. 20] receiveth me, and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me” (Mt. x. 40.)

[†] Compare the phrase “Hosanna to the God of David.”

[‡] A friend suggests that ἔρχεται . . . καλέσαι may have the force of a simple future. The parallel passage in the Barnabas-appendix has ἦλθεν, which shows how it is to be understood.

use, and from which even a Socinian would not shrink. Yet we cannot but note a doctrinal progression which has advanced beyond the pure Ebionism of the Eucharistic Prayers. And when we find (chap. ix.) that baptism is described as being *εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου*,* remembering what the formula is, as twice given in the *Teaching*, we can hardly doubt that *Κύριος* here covers Father, Son and Holy Spirit, regarded as one Jehovah.

The Kyriology, then, of the main doctrine comes nearest to what is best known as Sabellian. It seems to have been carefully put into this form, with a dogmatic purpose, which has deliberately excluded every less suggestive appellation of Christ. How then do we explain the primitive state of the Eucharistic Prayers? Partly from reverence these fragments of an earlier age were preserved intact; partly also because, as we may recollect, with Humanitarianism pure and simple, Sabellianism has a strong historic tendency to coalesce. The Appendix has in like manner been left intact; it exhibits some advance upon the mere Ebionism of the Prayers, but the interval between its Kyriology and that of the main document is nevertheless distinctly perceptible.

A Kyriophany is pointed to, in the Maranatha (the Lord cometh) of the third Eucharistic Prayer. The details of the Kyriophany as given in chap. xvi. have some features in common with other presentations of the subject, and others which are peculiar. The growing vice of the age immediately preceding the advent of the Kyrios; the multiplication of false prophets; the appearance of a World-deceiver, who shall bear so close a resemblance to the true Son of God as to deceive even the sheep of the fold; all these signs of deepening gloom are dwelt upon with abundance of detail by other early writers. But when we come to the predicted advent, we notice a very remarkable peculiarity, in the omission of all reference to angels. And of the three special "signs of the truth," the first is

* The *Apostolic Constitutions*, which otherwise show Arian influence, remove this phrase, substituting *εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου θάνατον*.

one not elsewhere specified. It is the sign ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ.

This Bryennios would render "a soaring up in the sky," connecting it with the account (Thess. iv. 17) of the risen and surviving saints who shall together be "caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air." For two substantial reasons this will not do. The *ekpetasis* is a sign *preceding* the resurrection; and the rendering "soaring" depends upon a false etymology.* The *ekpetasis* is the "spreading forth"; but of what? It has been referred to the patristic idea (used also in commenting upon Rom. x. 40) of the stretching forth of the hands of Jesus at the advent, as in the attitude upon the cross.† But it is a sign *preceding* the advent, so this will not do. We are inclined to think it suggested by the פָּרַשׁ of Joel ii. 2. The usual rendering of פָּרַשׁ in the LXX. is by ἐκπετάννυμι; and though here it is χυθήσεται, yet the Didachographer could translate for himself, as is evidenced in his (chap. xiv.) citation of Mal. i. 14. Thus the sign of *ekpetasis* in the sky is the appearance of the thundercloud (followed by the thunderclap, "a trumpet's voice") above which the Kyrios shortly appears.

We have completed our survey of this interesting document, and have only a few words of remark to make in conclusion. The age and locality of its production it would be premature to attempt to assign. That it is later than the *Shepherd*, older than the *Apostolic Constitutions*, cannot be matter of doubt. Its character is essentially that

* From πέτομαι we should get ἐκπτήσις; and even this would mean soaring *out*, not *up*. In Acts iii. 8, ἐξαλλόμενος is indeed translated (even in R.V.) "leaping up"; it should be "leaping out" (of the litter). It is true that in a passage of Theophylact, ἐξεπέτασας may be rendered "let fly," a secondary sense of "spread forth." Sophocles gives an example of ἐκπέτασις = "flying," but in an author as late as A.D. 950.

† Perhaps the earliest mention of "the sign of the cross" in the sky as preliminary to the second advent is in chap. 36 of the dubious *Consummation of the World*, ascribed to Hippolytos. See the remarks of Gerard Voss, *Theses Theol. et Histor.* 1628, p. 270. The idea was suggested by "the sign of the Son of Man in the sky," Matt. xxiv. 30. The *Teaching* does not contain the title Son of Man.

of a compilation, and there are distinct evidences of the individuality of the compiler, who may, or may not, have represented a wide-spread view of the Christian system. Its oldest stratum witnesses to the existence of St. John's Gospel. It contains extracts from St. Matthew, and gives unmistakable signs of familiarity with St. Luke, with the Acts, and with St. Paul's writings. There is a strong Hebraistic flavour about it.* Finally, it points to the prior existence of yet older documents, at present undiscovered, but which, considering the wonderful finds of recent years, we dare not pronounce to be hopelessly lost.

ALX. GORDON.

* Yet actual Hebraisms of language are not numerous. Note the use of (*ter*) ἐν, like $\frac{\text{א}}{\text{ב}}$; and the phrase, τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, for "testing fire-ordeal." There are some traces also of parallelism, *e.g.*,

"In church thou shalt confess thy transgressions :"

"And shalt not come to thy praying-place in an evil conscience."

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ARTICLE VI.

THE VOCABULARY OF THE "TEACHING OF THE
TWELVE APOSTLES."

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I. ITS VOCABULARY COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.¹

THE agreement between the New Testament and the Teaching in the use of words is in general so obvious and so much a matter of course that it is only necessary to notice the points of disagreement. Are there any words in the Teaching not found in the New Testament? Also, are there words in the former with a meaning different from that which they bear in the latter? The following notes are in answer to the first of these questions. The second question seems to allow an almost unqualified negative. The word *φθορά*, which has in the New Testament its classical meaning of corruption, destruction (e.g. *ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς*, Rom. viii. 21), in the Teaching (chap. ii.), means abortion, as in the Epistle of Barnabas. Also *συνοχή* (chap. i.), is to be taken more literally than in the New Testament.

In the following list I have intended to include all the words in the Teaching that are not found in the New Testament, however unimportant they may seem, or however close the connection or resemblance. The numbers following each word give the chapter and the line in Scribner's edition. In the remarks in regard to usage no notice is taken of the Epistle of Barnabas, the Apostolical Constitutions, or the Epitome, if the word is used elsewhere.

ἀθάνατος, iv. 94. Classical, and in Septuagint. The New Testament adjective is *ἄφθαρτος* (1 Tim. i. 17), which is perhaps not used earlier than Aristotle. It also has both the substantives *ἄφθαρσία* (post-classical and in Septuagint) and *ἀθανασία*, which is classical.

¹ [On account of a resemblance between some passages in the first part of this Article and portions of an excellent paper upon the same subject in the Journal of Christian Philosophy, by Dr. Isaac H. Hall, it is due to the author to say that this was intended for the July number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and all except the last two pages stands as it was then written. — Eds.]

αἰσχρολόγος, iii. 56. Post-classical. The New Testament has αἰσχρολογία (classical) in Col. iii. 8, and αἰσχροότης (classical), referring to the same thing, in Eph. v. 4.

ἀμφιβολία, xiv. 270. Classical. In Herodotus 5. 74 it means an attack from both sides — Peloponnesians on one side and Boeotians and Chalcidians on the other. In Aristotle's Poetic (25. 13) it means a verbal ambiguity, used together with the adjective ἀμφίβολος. In Plutarch it means doubtfulness. The meaning in the Teaching would come from the later usage, and the word might be rendered "a misunderstanding" — a delicate euphemism for ἔρις or μομφή. See Col. iii. 13, εἰάν τις πρὸς τινα ἔχη μομφήν. In Matt. v. 23, 24 — the parent passage — the expression is ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἔχει τι κατὰ σου.

ἀνταποδοτής, iv. 91. Found elsewhere only in the Epistle of Barnabas (ch. 19), and Epitome (Bryennios Proleg., p. 77). The New Testament has ἀνταπόδομα, ἀνταπόδοσις, and ἀνταποδίδωμι.

αὐθάδεια, v. 117. Classical. The New Testament has αὐθάδης (classical) in Tit. i. 7; 2 Pet. ii. 10.

γόγγυσος, iii. 66. Post-classical. The New Testament has γογγυστής in Jude 16; also γογγύζω and γογγυσμός, all post-classical.

διαφορά, i. 2. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament has the adjective διάφορος (classical), but the substantive is either διαστολή (post-classical), or διαίρεσις (classical). See Rom. iii. 22; 1 Cor. xii. 4, 5, 6, et al.

διγλωσσία, ii. 42. Found elsewhere only in Epistle of Barnabas (ch. 19) and Epitome (Bryennios Proleg. p. 74).

δίγλωσσος, ii. 42. Classical and in Septuagint. In Thucydides it means speaking two languages (4. 109; 8. 85). In the Septuagint it means deceitful. The New Testament has δίλογος (post-classical), 1 Tim. iii. 8.

διγνώμων, ii. 41. Found elsewhere only in the Epistle of Barnabas, chap. 19. The Epitome (Bryennios, Proleg., p. 74) has δίγνομος, as also some texts of Barnabas. The New Testament has δίψυχος (post-classical), James i. 8; iv. 8.

διπλοκαρδία, v. 116. Found only here and in the Epistle of Barnabas, chap. 19.

διψυχέω, iv. 86. Post-classical. The New Testament has δίψυχος. See διγνώμων above.

ἐκπέτασις, xvi. 313. The origin of the word is doubtful, also whether it occurs elsewhere or not. If it is from ἐκπετάννυμι it means "expansion," and is found, according to the older texts, in Plutarch's

De Sera Numinis Vindicta, chap. 23. The disembodied souls expressed joy and pleasure "by expansion and diffusion," ἐκπετάσει δὲ καὶ διαχύσει. The Didot edition (1868), however, reads ἐπεκτάσει. If the word comes from ἐκπέταμαι, which is a later as well as poetic form of ἐκπέτομαι, then it means "flying away." The only use of it cited by Sophocles is dated about 950 A.D. Bryennios, followed by Canon Farrar (Cont. Rev. May 1884), adopts the latter meaning, and identifies it with the ἀρπαγή of 1 Thess. iv. 17.¹ Farrar translates, "First the sign of the flying forth (of the saints) in heaven, then the sign of the voice of the trumpet, and the third, the resurrection of the dead." But it requires altogether too much ingenuity to make this "flying forth" to come *first*. Why not refer it to the flying forth of the angels sent out to gather the elect? This view would make the above harmonize with Matt. xxiv. 31: "And he shall send forth his angels [cf. Rev. xiv. 6, ἄγγελον πετόμενον ἐν μεσουρανήματι] with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other." Perhaps the ἐκπέτασις refers to some unexplained "sign of the Son of Man in heaven" mentioned in the previous verse in Matthew. This the paraphrase in the Apostolical Constitutions favors (chap. 32). If so, the meaning of "expansion" would seem more probable. According to Alford, on Matt. xxiv. 30, the Fathers generally supposed the "sign" to be a cross in the sky. In any case, the word can hardly mean an "opening" in heaven. In the Septuagint ἐκπετάζω means to spread out, having for its object a cloud in Job xxvi. 9, and the hands in 2 Esdras ix. 5. Canon Farrar says: "Some suppose it to mean the sign of Christ with arms outstretched as on the cross"; but he cites no evidence that the early Christians looked for such a sign. If any justification could be found for tampering with the manuscript, one would like to read ἐπιφάσεως for ἐκπετάσεως.

ἐνδέω, iv. 92; v. 128. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament has ἐνδεής, Acts iv. 34.

ἐπαοιδός, iii. 59. In Septuagint and classical in the form ἐπωδός. The New Testament seems not to contain the idea of enchantment, i.e. using the magic spell. We find μαγεύω, Acts viii. 9; μαγία,

¹ I take this from Bryennios' note on p. 55 of his edition. The copy received by Dr. Ezra Abbot contains ms. corrections of this note which entirely, and most happily, change its meaning making, ἐκπέτασις refer to the appearing of the Lord. The corrections are supposed to be by Bryennios himself. They erase ἡ ἐκπέτασις (line 4), and ὅθεν δὴ (line 9), and add an illustrative quotation from 2 Thess i. 7.

viii. 11; μάγος, xiii. 6, 8. The Septuagint applies the word ἐπαοιδός to the "magicians" of Pharaoh and of Nebuchadnezzar.

ἐριστικός, iii. 53. Classical. The New Testament has ἔρις, and ἐρίζω, both classical.

ζηλοτυπία, v. 118. Classical and in Septuagint, in Num. v., of the law of jealousy. The New Testament has ζήλος and derivatives (classical), but no compounds; also φθόνος (classical), Acts xiii. 45; Matt. xxvii. 18, et al.

θερμός, vii. 144. Class. and Sept. The New Testament has θερμή (Acts xxviii. 3) and θερμαίνω, but for the adjective, ζεστός (post-classical), *fervidus*, used only figuratively, Rev. iii. 15, 16.

θάρσος, iii. 73. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament has θάρσος once (Acts xxviii. 15), used, as generally in the classics, in a good sense.

θρασύτης, v. 118. Classical. The Septuagint has θρασύς, θρασύνω, and θρασυκάριος.

θυμικός, iii. 53. In Arist., and the adverb in Polyb. 18. 37 (20), 12.

ιδρώ, i. 32. Classical. The New Test. has the noun, Luke xxii. 44.

κακοήθης, ii. 45. Classical. The New Testament has κακοήθεια once, Rom. i. 29.

κοσμοπλάνος, xvi. 304. Found only here and in Apostolical Constitutions, τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος, and κατακρίναι τὸν κοσμοπλάνον διάβολον, Bk. 7, chap. 32. See Bryennios, Proleg. p. 50. Compare 2 John 7, πολλοὶ πλάνοι ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

κυριακή, xiv. 267. Later than New Testament as substantive. The New Testament has the adjective (post-classical) once of the Lord's supper (1 Cor. xi. 20), and once of the Lord's day, Rev. i. 10.

μαθηματικός, iii. 60. Classical as adjective. Polybius has the substantive, meaning mathematician, in 9. 19, 9. In Sextus Empiricus (A.D. 205) it means astrologer (Sophocles, Lex. s.v.). Tacitus and Juvenal (died A.D. 120) call astrologers mathematici. Tertullian (died A.D. 220) classes together "lenones, perductores, aquarioli, sicarii, venenarii, magi, haruspices, harioli, mathematici," Apol. 43. For astrologers the Septuagint, in Isa. xlvii. 13, has ἀστρολόγοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. In Daniel the king calls τοὺς ἐπαοιδούς καὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς φαρμακοὺς καὶ τοὺς χαλδαίους (ii. 2), but the word μαθηματικός is not found. May not the word, in the sense of astrologer, have been re-borrowed from the Latin?

μῖσος, xvi. 301. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament has μισέω, but for the noun uses ἔχθρα, not a precise equivalent, but the opposite of φιλία, James iv.

μνησικακέω, ii. 41. Classical and in Septuagint, which has also μνησίκακος, Prov. xii. 28.

οἰωνοσκόπος, iii. 58. Classical. The Septuagint has οἰωνίζομαι and οἰωνισμός of Joseph's divining cup, Gen. xlv. 5. Also τερατοσκόπος, Deut. xviii. 11. Neither the word nor the idea appears in the New Testament.

παιδοφθορέω, ii. 36. In Epistle of Barnabas and later. Compare Juvenal x. 304:

“Non licet esse viro, nam prodiga corruptoris
Improbilas ipsos audet temptare parentes.”

πανθαμάρτητος, v. 130. Not in Stephanus, Liddell and Scott, or Sophocles. Appears to be found only here and in the corresponding passages in Epistle of Barnabas (chap. 20) and Apostolical Constitutions (7, 18).

παρόδιος, xii. 245. Post-classical. Not in the Septuagint, which, however, has πάροδος with the meaning of traveller, 2 Kings xii. 4 — this from the influence of the Hebrew.

πέρικαθαίρω, iii. 60. Classical, and in Septuagint, of Moloch-worship, Deut. xviii. 10.

ποθέω, iv. 83. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament has ἐπιποθέω (classical). But is not ποθήσεις in the Teaching an error of text for ποιήσεις? The corresponding passage in Epistle of Barnabas is οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα (chap. 19), and in the Apostolical Constitutions is οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσματα πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους.

πονέω, v. 125. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament uses κοπιᾶω (classical); also καταπονέω (post-classical), but not with the meaning of labor; also πόνος (classical).

πονηρόφρων, iii. 67. Found elsewhere only in the Apostolical Constitutions, Μὴ ἔσὸ αὐθάδης, μηδὲ πονηρόφρων (7. 7), and in the Epitome (Bryennios, Proleg. p. 76).

προνηστεύω, vii. 147. Classical. In Herodotus, of the sacrificial ceremonies of the Egyptians, 2, 40.

προσεξομολογέω, xiv. 268. I find no examples of this compound referred to in the lexicons. The New Testament and Septuagint have ὁμολογέω (classical), and ἐξομολογέω (post-classical), which also is used in the Teaching iv. 108.

σιτία, xiii. 261. This word is found in the Apophthegmata Patrum, which Sophocles dates about A.D. 500. The meaning is plain from the following, to which he refers: Θέλω πληρῶσαι τὸν λογισμόν μου μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λαβὼν σιτίαν εἰς τὸ ἄρτοκοπεῖον ἐποίησεν ἄρτους,

192, A. Ἀπῆλθον οὖν εἰς τὸ ἄρτοκοπέιον ποιῆσαι δύο σιτίας καὶ εὖρον ἐκεῖ ἀδελφὸν θέλοντα ποιῆσαι ἄρτους, καὶ οὐκ εἶχέ τινα δοῦναι αὐτῷ χεῖρα, 196, B. For the Ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῇς, τὴν ἀπαρχήν of the Teaching, we find in the Apostolical Constitutions (7, 29), πᾶσαν ἀπαρχὴν ἄρτων θερμῶν, "hot cakes."

συσπάω, iv. 88. Classical. The word properly means to draw together, contract; but as in Latin *contrahere*, as well as *retrahere*, is the opposite of *porrigere*, so here συσπάω is the opposite of ἐκτείνω. Again, συσπᾶν τὰς χεῖρας is not the same as συσπᾶν τοὺς δακτύλους, so that Canon Farrar's "clenches them tight" must be called an "improvement." The New Testament has συστέλλω (classical), which is sometimes the opposite of ἐκτείνω, but in Acts v. 6 describes the preparation of the body of Ananias for burial—Latin, *componere*. Συστέλλω is the word used in the remarkable parallel passage cited by Bryennios from the Wisdom of Sirach: Μὴ ἔστω ἡ χεὶρ σου ἐκτεταμένη εἰς τὸ λαβεῖν καὶ ἐν τὸ ἀποδιδόναι συνεσταλμένη, 4, 31. Also in the corresponding passage in the Apostolical Constitutions (7, 11).

τετράς, viii. 153. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament has τετράδιον (post-classical), Acts xii. 4, meaning a company of four.

ὑψηλόφθαλμος, iii. 56. Found elsewhere only in the Epitome (Bryennios, Proleg. p. 75). Bryennios points out that where the Teaching has μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος the Apostolical Constitutions has οὐκ ἔση αἰσχρολόγος, οὐδὲ ῥιψόφθαλμος. The Septuagint has ὑψηλοκάρδιος, Prov. xvi. 5; also κύριε, οὐχ ὑψώθη ἡ καρδία μου, οὐδὲ ἐμετεωρίσθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου, Ps. cxxx. (cxxxii.) 1. But these expressions refer to haughtiness, and ῥιψόφθαλμος means leering, a meaning which the context seems to fasten upon ὑψηλόφθαλμος—ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχείαι γεννῶνται. Perhaps the exhortation has women chiefly in mind, and condemns the opposite of modest, downcast eyes. Here the Septuagint furnishes an exact parallel in the use of the noun μετεωρισμός. See Wisdom of Sirach, xxvi. 9, Πορνεία γυναικὸς ἐν μετεωρισμοῖς ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς βλεφάροις αὐτῆς γνωσθήσεται. Compare xxiii. 4.

φαρμακεύω, ii. 37. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament has φαρμακεία and φαρμακός.

φθορεύς, v. 127, xvi. 300. Post-classical. The New Testament has φθορά and φθείρω, both classical.

χριστέμπορος, xii. 251. I find no example cited in the lexicons

that is earlier than A.D. 326. Bryennios cites two examples from the longer Greek Ignatian epistles, which Bishop Lightfoot refers to the latter half of the fourth century. See *Contemporary Review*, Feb. 1875. The passages containing these examples are not in the shorter epistles, — the Vossian, — which are referred by the same authority to the middle of the second century. The word might possibly be suggested by 1 Tim. vi. 5, νομιζόντων πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν.

REMARKS.

1. Number and classification. The whole number is forty-five, of which two are found twice, — ἐνδέω, φθορεύς, — all the rest only once. Nineteen are substantially the same as New Testament words: αἰσχρολόγος, ἀθάνατος, ἀνταποδότης, αὐθάδεια, γόγγυσος, διαφορά, διψυχέω, ἐνδέω, ἐριστικός, θερμός, θράσος, ἰδρώ, κακοήθης, κυριακή, μῖσος, προσεξομολογέω, τετράς, φαρμακεύω, φθορεύς. As to their distribution in the Teaching, two are in chap. i., διαφορά, ἰδρώ; seven in chap. ii., παιδοφθορέω, φαρμακεύω, μνησικακέω, διγνώμων, δίγλωσσος, διγλωσσία, κακοήθης; eleven in chap. iii., ἐριστικός, θυμικός, αἰσχρολόγος, ὑψηλόφθαλμος, οἰωνοσκόπος, ἐπαοιδός, μαθηματικός, περικαθαίρω, γόγγυσος, πονηρόφρων, θράσος; six in chap. iv., ποθέω, διψυχέω, συσπάω, ἀνταποδότης, ἐνδέω, ἀθάνατος; seven in chap. v., διπλοκαρδία, αὐθάδεια, ζηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, πονέω, φθορεύς, πανθαμάρτητος, with a repetition of ἐνδέω; two in chap. vii., θερμός, προνηστεύω; one in chap. viii., τετράς; two in chap. xii., παρόδιος, χριστέμπορος; one in chap. xiii., σιτία; three in chap. xiv., κυριακή, προσεξομολογέω, ἀμφιβολία; three in chap. xvi., μῖσος, κοσμοπλάνος, ἐκπέτασις, with a repetition of φθορεύς. Thirty-three of the forty-five occur in the first five chapters. As to usage, twenty-five are classical, of which fifteen are found in the Septuagint, ἀθάνατος (Sept.), ἀμφιβολία, αὐθάδεια, διαφορά (Sept.), δίγλωσσος (Sept.), ἐνδέω (Sept.), ἐπαοιδός (ἐπωδός) (S.), ἐριστικός, ζηλοτυπία (Sept.), θερμός (Sept.), θράσος (Sept.), θρασύτης, ἰδρώ, κακοήθης, μαθηματικός (as adjective), μῖσος (Sept.), μνησικακέω (Sept.), οἰωνοσκόπος, περικαθαίρω (Sept.), ποθέω (Sept.), πονέω (Sept.), προνηστεύω, συσπάω, τετράς (Sept.), φαρμακεύω (Sept.). Four are post-classical, without being ecclesiastical merely, αἰσχρολόγος, θυμικός, παρόδιος, φθορεύς. Four are found in the early Christian fathers, γόγγυσος, διψυχέω, κυριακή, παιδοφθορέω. Two are not found earlier than the fourth century, σιτία, χριστέμπορος. Eight are not found outside of that tetralogy which contains so many identical passages, viz. the

Teaching, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Apostolical Constitutions, and the Epitome: ἀνταποδότης, διγλωσσία, and διγνώμων(-ος) being in Barnabas and Epitome, πανθαμάρτητος in Barnabas and Apostolical Constitutions, πονηρόφρων in Apostolical Constitutions and Epitome, διπλοκαρδία in Barnabas, κοσμοπλάγος in Apostolical Constitutions, and ὑψηλόφθαλμος in the Epitome. The only word found nowhere except in the Teaching is προσεξομολογέω. This Hilgenfeld changes to προεξ. One word, ἐκπέτασις, is doubtful.

2. To make the best use of this list of words, let us assume that no other writing stands, as the source of its vocabulary, between the Teaching and the New Testament, whatever may have been the interval of time. Let us, for the moment, forget the existence of the Epistle of Barnabas, the Apostolical Constitutions, and the Epitome. Assuming that the connection with the New Testament is immediate, and not at second hand, we can see that the vocabulary of the Teaching, with the exception of two or three words, marks it as a natural and early successor, if not a companion in origin, of the New Testament writings. First, there is largely the same word-list. Secondly, the words that are substantially, but not exactly, identical indicate a writer whose mind is filled with New Testament ideas, but is not anxious, as a forger might well be, to reproduce the exact New Testament forms. Thirdly, the classical words were, the most of them *certainly*, the rest *probably*, still in current use in the first and second centuries of our era. Fourthly, more than half of these classical words are in the Septuagint, which must have joined with the New Testament writings in forming the early Christian vocabulary. Fifthly, the eight ecclesiastical words given above — not included among those which are substantially in the New Testament — are compounds which might easily arise without leaving any other trace in the scanty remains of early Christian writing. This leaves three words, ἐκπέτασις, σιτία, and χριστέμπορος. If the first is from ἐκπετάννυμι, then it is found in Plutarch, and falls into line with the rest. If it is from ἐκπέταμαι, then, as a derivative in the common formative ending -σις, it need not be held very strictly to contemporary usage; for it might be formed at any time, by any writer, as readily as we form words in -ing. It is not so easy to explain the other two words in harmony with the second-century origin of the Teaching. Σιτία is not a word that would be likely to be coined by a writer, like some rhetorical compounds that flash upon the mind in the heat of composition. It has the appearance of

a genuine late word, later, even than the Apostolical Constitutions, which has *ἄρτους* instead. *Χριστέμπορος* might be the coinage of a vigorous writer; but the connection hardly suggests this. These words are only two among many; but in such cases majorities do not rule. These two do not necessarily prove that the Teaching is of late date, but they demand an explanation. If in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels one should find the word "biscuit," it would not prove that the Gospels were as late as the French word; the French word would be thrown out as spurious. So these words may be thrown out as interpolations, or they may be proved to have existed as early as the second century, or they may be left as doubtful; but they require to be considered. If they belong to a later addition, then the limits of the addition must be sought for. As to *χριστέμπορος*, if it should turn out to be an interpolation, it would not be the only time that it has figured in that capacity, as the Ignatian Epistles testify. Leaving all this undecided, let us pass to the second part of our subject.

II. THE VOCABULARY OF THE TEACHING COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.

The comparison of the Teaching with the New Testament in respect to vocabulary will yield little of value, if we are shut up to the opinion that the Teaching is later than the Epistle of Barnabas. Before we go further, then, this question must be considered.

The Epitome and Apostolical Constitutions need not be taken into account, as it may be assumed that they are both later than the Epistle. I will confine the comparison to the vocabulary only. Difference of vocabulary, where the course of thought is substantially the same, may be either rhetorical or grammatical and lexical. In the case before us both these kinds of difference can best be seen by examining the two writings in parallel arrangement. The comparison is not between the whole of both, but between the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth chapters of Barnabas, which are given entire, and portions of the first six chapters of the Teaching, which are detached from their connection. The figures preceding the extracts in the right hand column denote the lines in Scribner's edition. The text of Barnabas is taken from the Prolegomena of Bryennios' edition of the Teaching, and the arrangement deviates but very little from that which is indicated by his marginal references and special type.

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18. Μεταβῶμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐτέραν γνῶσιν καὶ διδαχὴν. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶ διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἥτε τοῦ φωτός καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους· διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. Ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γάρ εἰσι τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶ κύριος ἀπ' αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας.

19. Ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αὕτη· εἰάν τις θέλων ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τόπον σπεύσῃ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. Ἔστιν οὖν ἡ δοθείσα ἡμῖν γνῶσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ

τοιαύτη· Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν σε ποιήσαντα, φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τὸν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου. Ἔσῃ ἀπλοῦς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ πλούσιος τῷ πνεύματι. Οὐ κολληθήσῃ μετὰ τῶν πορευομένων ἐν ὁδῷ θανάτου. Μισήσεις πᾶν ὃ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀρεστὸν τῷ Θεῷ, μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν, οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντο-

λὰς Κυρίου. Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτόν, ἔσῃ δὲ ταπεινόφρων κατὰ πάντα, οὐκ ἀρεῖς ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν δόξαν. Οὐ λήψῃ βουλήν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου. Οὐ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θρά-

σος. Οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις. Οὐ μή σου ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξέλθῃ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ

τινῶν. Οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι

τινὰ ἐπὶ παραπτώματι. Ἔσῃ πραῦς,

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(3) Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν.

(5) Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη·

(9) Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη· Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.

(5) Πρῶτον, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτερον, τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει.

(105) Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἀρεστὸν τῷ Κυρίῳ. Οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς Κυρίου.

(72) Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτόν.

(46) Οὐ λήψῃ βουλήν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου.

(73) Οὐδε δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος.

(35) Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς Οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις.

(84) Οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν.

(69) Ἴσθι δὲ πραῦς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πρα-

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ἔση ἡσύχιος, ἔση τρέμων τοὺς λόγους

οὓς ἤκουσας. Οὐ μνησικακήσεις τῷ

ἀδελφῷ σου. Οὐ μὴ διψυχήσης, πό-

τερον ἔσται ἢ οὗ. Οὐ μὴ λάβῃς ἐπὶ
ματαίῳ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου. Ἀγαπή-
σεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν

σου. Οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ,
οὐδὲ πάλιν γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς. Οὐ
μὴ ἄρῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ
σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλ'
ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις φόβον Κυ-

ρίου. Οὐ μὴ γένη ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ

τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐ μὴ γένη
πλεονέκτης, οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυ-
χῆς σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ
ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀναστραφήσῃ.
Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς
ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄνευ Θεοῦ

οὐδὲν γίνεται. Οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων
οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου
ἐστὶν ἡ διγλωσσία. Ὑποταγήσῃ κυ-
ρίοις ὡς τύπῳ Θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνη καὶ

φόβῳ· οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξῃς δούλῳ σου ἢ
παιδίσκῃ σου ἐν πικρίᾳ τοῖς ἐπὶ
τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν ἐλπίζουσι, μήποτε οὐ
φοβηθῶσι τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις Θεόν·

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εἰς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν. Γίνου
μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκα-
κος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ
τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντός,
οὓς ἤκουσας.

(40) Οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐ μνη-
σικακήσεις.

(85) Οὐ διψυχήσεις, πότερον
ἔσται ἢ οὗ.

(40) Οὐκ ἐπιорκήσεις, οὐ ψευ-
δομαρτυρήσεις.

(47) Οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄν-
θρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις,
περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγα-
πήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

(37) Οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν
φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς.

(95) Οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σου
ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγα-
τρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος δι-
δάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

(39) Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ
πλησίον.

(44) Οὐκ ἔση πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ
ἄρπαξ.

(73) Οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ
σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δι-
καίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ.
Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα
ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ
Θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

(41) Οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ
δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ
διγλωσσία. Οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου
ψευδής, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστω-
μένος πράξει.

(98) Οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου
ἢ παιδίσκῃ, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν
ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρίᾳ σου, μήποτε
οὐ μὴ φοβηθῶσιν τὸν ἐπ' ἀμ-

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ὅτι ἦλθεν οὐ κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοίμασεν.

Κοινωνήσεις ἐν πᾶσι τῷ πλησίον σου καὶ οὐκ ἔρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς; Οὐκ ἔση πρό-
γλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ στόμα θανάτου.

Ὅσον δύνασαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου

ἀγνεύσεις. Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν. Ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου. Μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἢ διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι καὶ μελετῶν εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ψυχὴν τῷ λόγῳ ἢ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρον ἁμαρτιῶν σου. Οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι, οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ δὲ τίς ὁ τοῦ

μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδοτῆς. Φυλάξεις ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. Εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸ πονηρόν. Κρινεῖς δικαίως. Οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους συναγαγών. Ἐξομολογήσῃ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ σου, οὐ προσήξεις ἐπὶ

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φοτέροις Θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοίμασεν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ Θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνη καὶ φόβῳ.

(92) Οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκαινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἔρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς;

(134) Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, τέλειος ἔση· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὁ δόνη τοῦτο ποίει.

(86) Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν.

(78) Τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς Κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ Κύριός ἐστιν. Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαύῃ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν.

(88) Ἐὰν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. Οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδοτῆς.

(107) Φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν.

(83) Οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως.

(108) Ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου, καὶ

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προσευχὴν ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ.
Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός.

20. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ὁδὸς σκολιά ἐστι καὶ κατάρας μεστή· ὁδὸς γάρ ἐστι θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ᾗ ἐστι τὰ ἀπολλύντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν εἰδωλολατρεία, θρασύτης, ὕψος δυνάμεως, ὑπόκρισις, διπλοκαρδία, μοιχεία, φόνοι, ἄρπαγή, ὑπερηφανία, παράβασις, δόλος, κακία, αὐθάδεια, φαρμακεία, μαγεία, πλεονεξία, ἀφοβία Θεοῦ· διώκται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλῶμενοι ἀγαθῷ, οὐ κρίσει δικαία, χήρα καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς φόβον Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ πονηρόν, ὧν μακρὰν καὶ πόρρω πραύτης καὶ ὑπομονῆς ἀγαπῶντες μάταια, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, εὐχερεῖς ἐπὶ καταλαλιᾷ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος Θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι.

TEACHING.

οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχὴν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

(112) Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων πονηρὰ ἐστι καὶ κατάρας μεστή·

φόντοι, μοιχείαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνείαι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρεῖαι, μαγείαι, φαρμακείαι, ἄρπαγαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, κακία, αὐθάδεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, ὕψος, ἀλαζονεία· διώκται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλῶμενοι ἀγαθῷ οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαία, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν· ὧν μακρὰν πραύτης καὶ ὑπομονῆς, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος Θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι· ῥησθεῖτε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.

REMARKS.

1. The most striking fact in the comparison is, of course, the close resemblance, amounting in many sentences to absolute identity. The resemblance is closer than between the Sermon on the Mount in Luke and the corresponding passages in Matthew. It is very different, however, from the resemblance between the Teaching and the seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions. The latter has the same language as the Teaching, in almost exactly the same order, from beginning to end; a large amount of additional matter being interspersed, so that it is a sort of running

commentary on the Teaching. The Epitome, also, so far as it goes, has the same order. But the Epistle of Barnabas, in the portions here compared, has, without much difference in amount, marked differences of arrangement. The Teaching has a more natural and logical order, as will appear not by this parallel arrangement, but by the comparative reading of both in course.

2. The differences that are merely grammatical or strictly verbal, without affecting the sense, are the following :

BARNABAS.

ch. 18. ἡ τε . . . καὶ ἡ
τῶν δύο ὁδῶν
ch. 19. ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρεστόν
ἐλέγξαι τινὰ ἐπὶ παραπτώματι
ἔση πραῦς, ἔση ἡσύχιος, ἔση τρέμων

οὐ μὴ διψυχήσης
οὐ μὴ ἄρης
φόβον
οὐ μὴ γένῃ ἐπιθυμῶν
οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς
ἄνευ θεοῦ
ἐστὶν ἡ διγλωσσία
ὑποταγήσῃ κυρίοις
οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξῃς
μή ποτε οὐ φοβηθῶσι
ὅτι ἦλθεν οὐ
κοινωνήσεις ἐν πᾶσι
ἀφθάρτῳ . . . φθάρτοις
ὅσον δύνασαι
καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν
ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρον
γνώσῃ δὲ τίς
εἰρηνεύσεις . . . συναγαγὼν
ἐξομολογήσῃ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτία σου
οὐ προσήξεις
ch. 20. εἰδωλολατρεία, ὑπόκρισις,
μοιχεία, φόνος, ἀρπαγή, φαρμακεία,
μανεία
διώκεται τῶν ἀγαθῶν
οὐ κρίσει
ἐπὶ τὸ πονηρόν

TEACHING.

μία . . . καὶ μία
μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν
ὃ μὴ ἀρεστόν
ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν
ἴσθι δὲ πραῦς . . . γίνου ἡσύχιος . . .
καὶ τρέμων

οὐ διψυχήσεις
οὐκ ἀρεῖς
τὸν φόβον
οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις
οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ
ἄτερ θεοῦ
ἡ διγλωσσία
ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις
οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις
οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται
οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται
συγκοινωνήσεις πάντα
ἀθανάτῳ . . . θνητοῖς
εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι
καθ' ἡμέραν
δώσεις λύτρωσιν
γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστὶν
εἰρηνεύσεις
ἐξ. τὰ παραπτώματά σου
οὐ προσελεύσῃ
Plural.

διώκεται ἀγαθῶν
οὐδὲ κρίσει
εἰς τὸ πονηρόν

The most of these differences are quite compatible with a memoriter quotation of either by the writer of the other. Similar variations are heard in the pulpit every Sunday in quoting the Bible. There is also nothing in them to indicate a different period of time in the writers. Are the differences consistent with the supposition that a copy was made with the manuscript before the writer? Certainly not, unless a different text was followed, as is also shown by the difference of order. Is there anything thus far to show which is the original? The indications of working over into a new style are very slight. In one marked case the Teaching has the imperative, ἴσθι γίνου, while the other has the Hebraistic future, ἔσῃ; this certainly cannot be called a change into the style of Barnabas. Four times Barnabas has οὐ μὴ with the aorist, where the Teaching has οὐ with the future. On the whole, considering only these verbal resemblances and differences, it seems to me that they show that the one writing did certainly come from the other, but without determining which. To say that they came from some common source is an easy makeshift; but must not that common source have been substantially the one or the other?

3. The differences that are more than merely verbal need not be here culled out and repeated, as they are obvious. I do not see how one can read the two columns carefully without the strongest impression that this part of the Epistle is derived from the Teaching. First, the Teaching is simpler, less figurative and ornate: ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς, τοῦ θανάτου instead of ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός, τοῦ σκότους, τοῦ μέλανος; πονηρά instead of σκολιά; μνησθήσῃ instead of ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου. Secondly, the Teaching is more closely biblical. The exact phraseology for the "two ways" is furnished by Jeremiah (xxi. 8), and is not far from Matt. vii. 13, 14; and a large part of chap. i. is from the Sermon on the Mount. Thirdly, the Epistle has the appearance of an amplification of the Teaching. The "two ways" of the latter become two ways διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, and the difference between them is illustrated by the guardian angels set over each. The simple διδαχὴ becomes ἡ δοθείσα ἡμῖν γνώσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν. Not satisfied with ἀγαπήσεις τὸν σε ποιήσαντα, Barnabas adds φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τὸν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου. Other examples follow. Even the οὐ μὴ λάβῃς ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου seems like a translation of ἐπιорκήσεις (derived from Matt. v. 33, and found only there in the New Testament, and but twice in the Old) into the language of the Decalogue. It is

true that some passages in the Teaching are fuller than in Barnabas. The list of sins in chap. 20 of the latter contains only two not in the Teaching, while the Teaching has seven not in Barnabas. Where Barnabas has *πραῦς, ἡσυχίος, τρέμων*, the Teaching has besides *μακρόθυμος, ἐλεήμων, ἄκακος, ἀγαθός*. But a fuller enumeration is a very different thing from an intentional amplification; and in no case, I think, in which the Teaching is fuller is there the appearance of a comment upon the Epistle or a confirmation of it. The quotation from Matt. v. 5, that "the meek shall inherit the earth," is in harmony with the other quotations from the Sermon on the Mount, and is plainly due simply to the word *πραῦς*. This case suggests the one feature in these chapters of the Epistle which favors their priority to the Teaching — they seem to ignore the Sermon on the Mount. If they were written after the Teaching, why should they avoid the quotations from the Sermon? Further, if they were written before the Teaching, why not before the Sermon on the Mount? and what is there then left to show that they are not an ante-Christian writing incorporated into the Epistle? ¹

4. This comparison of the Teaching with certain chapters of the Epistle of Barnabas leaves out of view the late words considered in the first part of this article. If the first five chapters of the Teaching are earlier than Barnabas, then those late words belong either to a large addition to the first five chapters or to short interpolations. The word *σιτία* might have been substituted for *ἄρτους* or *ἄρτους θερμούς* by a copyist, without the change of another word. The word *χριστέμπορος* might have been introduced without necessarily carrying with it more than its own sentence. Even if the first five chapters are later than Barnabas, they cannot, for various reasons, be put at a date that will satisfy these late words. The same appears to be true of the remaining chapters. Perhaps the strongest point against the genuineness of *χριστέμπορος* is that so striking a word is ignored, together with its immediate context, by the Apostolical Constitutions. Cannot some reader of the Greek Fathers tell us whether or not Gregory Nazianzen coined the word?

5. It may seem superfluous to speak of forgery, when it has not been seriously charged. Indeed, it may be asked, How can an

¹ A most tantalizing Latin fragment, published in Harnack's *Prolegomena*, seems to combine, in the opening sentences, the Teaching with the Epistle. Does this prove that there were widely varying texts of the Teaching, or that some writer had confused it with the Epistle?

anonymous writing be the subject of forgery? The answer is, that the silent claim of a certain age to authorship can be simulated as well as the handwriting of a man. On the supposition that the Teaching is prior to the Epistle of Barnabas, I have already said that a forger would have produced closer resemblances to New Testament diction. But how about a more modern, scientific, and scholarly forgery? Is not the Teaching a "cunningly devised" prototype, drawn from the Epitome and the Apostolical Constitutions? We may answer, first, that a forger would hardly have left its relation to the Epistle of Barnabas in so much doubt; or perhaps I should say, that the existence of that Epistle, with its variations from the Epitome and the Apostolical Constitutions, would have successfully baffled the efforts of a forger. But secondly, suppose this difficulty in some way removed, we should expect the Teaching, if it be a fabrication, to be more closely conformed to its sources. In the first chapter more than one quarter, mostly at the close, will be searched for in vain in the three parallel writings.¹ No modern

¹ Even if we add Hermas to these three, the illustration of the argument still holds, since the variations from Hermas, at the close of chap. i., are considerable. The following are the portions of Hermas bearing the closest resemblance (Second Commandment. Bry. Proleg., p. 89): Πᾶσι γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς διδόνθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων. Οἱ οὖν λαμβάνοντες ἀποδώσουσι λόγον τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τί ἔλαβον καὶ εἰς τί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες θλιβόμενοι οὐ δικασθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνοντες τίσουσι δίκην. Ὁ οὖν δίδους ἀθῶός ἐστιν. In the Independent of July 3, p. 9, Prof. Orris suggests that the close of chap. i., may have been added, or modified, at a later date; and finds evidence of this in the words, δώσει δίκην ἵνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί. One can readily agree with him (and thank him for proving it) that δώσει δίκην should not be rendered "shall give account"; but why not give the usual rendering, "shall pay the penalty," "shall suffer for it"? The connection with ἵνατί, etc., would be harsh, but perfectly intelligible, for the idea of giving account, or of being detected, would naturally be supplied. The usual meaning of δώσει δίκην is the proper antithesis of ἀθῶος ἐστί, just preceding, as the reader will plainly see by stopping at δίκην. The next five words have close connection logically with what follows referring to the mode of trial and punishment. In Hermas τίσουσι δίκην (cf. 2 Thess. i. 9) takes the place of δώσει δίκην, and is affirmed of those who receive alms hypocritically. This writing and the Teaching are at one in leaving the responsibility with the receiver and not the giver. Hence one feels bound to interpret the figurative language — "Let thine alms sweat," etc. — in harmony with this. The lines containing δώσει δίκην may be read thus: "Blessed is he that gives according to the commandment, for he is guiltless [even if the gift be found to be a mistake]. Woe to him that takes [if the gift is not needed, or is misused]; for, while the receiver, if needy, is guiltless, the one who is not needy shall pay the penalty [for it will be found out] why he took alms, and for what use he intended

forger would have left this so. This is well illustrated by Dr. Krawutzky's attempted restoration,¹ referred to in Professors Hitchcock and Brown's Introduction. The matter of it — the Two Ways — is found in the first five chapters of the Teaching. Although the restoration appears only in a German translation, its wonderful skill is apparent. But it is the skill of omission. Not a word is *added* to the Epitome so far as that is followed, or to the Apostolical Constitutions where the Epitome fails.

In conclusion, some of the points raised in this article cannot, of course, be settled by the mere examination of the vocabulary. I do not press them; for my object has been simply to help in preparing material for a final decision.

it; and when he is brought to trial [or prison] he will be closely examined concerning his conduct, and will not come out until he has paid back the last farthing." I see no way out of the "sweat" and toil of the next sentence but by supposing that the *ἰδρωτάτω* of the MS. is for *ἱερωτάτη*, *sacrosancta*.

¹ Theologische Quartalschrift, Tübingen. 1882. Drittes Quartalheft. pp. 433-445.

WE have tried to keep the run of the discussions of the "Teaching." We note, very lately, a discussion of the treatise before the Society of Theology in Paris. Prof. Bonet-Maury read a long paper, in which he adopted the conclusions of Hilgenfeld, who assigns the latest possible date, putting the first and earliest part of it, about the Two Ways, as late as A.D. 140, with subsequent additions, largely Montanistic, which come down to the close of the second century. These views were combated by Professors Massebieau, Sabatier and Ménégos, all of whom marshaled the evidence that it must mount back to a much earlier time. They agreed that it must be older than the Epistle of Barnabas and was composed before the end of the first century. In *The Church Eclectic* for July we find the first discussion of the subject by an American Episcopalian, if we except the letters of Professor Adams, of

Nashotah. We should have expected Episcopal scholars to be the first to take up the subject; but they have been the last. The present article is by Professor Richey, of the General Theological Seminary in this city. It gives no discussion whatever of the document itself, but only describes the kindred treatises, the various "Constitutions," and the "Judgment of Peter," and then concludes, from the testimony of Athanasius, etc., that it is uncanonical and of no binding authority on faith. Of course that is true. No human being questions it. The real question is not as to its canonical but as to its historical authority and value; and on that subject Professor Richey gives us not a bit of light. He is content to disparage the work as not Scripture, and apparently leave it to be concluded that, therefore, it has no other value. That was the argument of Omar when he burned the Alexandrian Library.

The British Quarterly. April 1885.
ART. V.—*The Teaching of the Apostles.* Edmund Venables

- (1) Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολομιτικῶν χειρογράφου νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδιδομένη μετὰ προλεγόμενων καὶ σημειώσεων ὑπὸ ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΥ ΒΡΥΕΝΝΙΟΥ, μητροπολίτου Νικομηδείας. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. Τύποις Σ. Ι. Βουτύρα. 1883.
- (2) *Doctrina XII. Apostolorum.* Edidit et adnotationibus illustravit. ADOLPHUS HILGENFELD. (Novum Testamentum Extra Canonem Receptum.) Fasciculus IV. Lipsiæ: T. O. Weigel. 1884.
- (3) *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur.* Von OSCAR VON GEBHART und ADOLF HARNACK. II. Band. Leipzig: Heinrichs. 1884.
- (4) *Lehre der Zwölf Apostel.* Von WÜNSCHE. Leipzig. 1884.
- (5) *The Official Report of the Church Congress at Carlisle,* 1884. Bemrose, London and Derby.
- (6) *The Expositor.* May, August, 1884.
- (7) *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* With Introduction, Translations, Notes, and Illustrative Passages. Edited by H. DE ROMESTIN. Oxford: Parker. 1884.
- (8) *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* A Translation, with Notes and Excursus, by Canon SPENCE, Vicar of St. Pancras. Nisbet. 1885.

TEN years since the learned world was startled by the new of the discovery of a Greek Codex in the library of the Holy Sepulchre attached to the official residence of the Patriarch

of Jerusalem at Phanar in the city of Constantinople, containing, among other ecclesiastical documents, the entire Greek text of the two Epistles of Clement, including the long missing portions of the recovery of which had been given up as hopeless. The Codex was of no great antiquity. It was written in cursive characters by one Leo, who describes himself as 'a notary and a sinner,' and was finished by him, as stated in the colophon, on the 11th of June, A.M. 6564, corresponding to A.D. 1056, just ten years before the Norman Conquest. But though late in actual execution, this precious volume so unexpectedly brought to light contained documents of the most primitive antiquity. Attention was at first almost exclusively directed to the Epistles of Clement. But the interest of the Codex did not end there. Besides the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Epistles of Ignatius, apparently of the longer recension, it was found to contain a work entitled 'The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.' The title was not unknown to scholars. A book under this name was mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius among early apocryphal writings accepted by the Church, and appeared in some catalogues of Scripture. The hope was naturally awakened that this might be that long lost work. But for a considerable period scholars were left in suspense as to its real character. 'What may be the value of the *Doctrina Duodecim Apostolorum*,' wrote Bishop Lightfoot in 1877,* 'remains to be seen.' At length, at the close of the year before last, 1883, the treatise was published, and the same sound and cautious scholar now pronounces that 'its interest and importance have far exceeded our highest expectations.'† It proves to be a document the composition of which may be assigned to the closing years of the first century, or at latest to the earlier part of the second century (the older date being regarded by the soundest scholars as the more probable), of the genuineness and authenticity of which there cannot be the slightest doubt, and throwing a light as unexpected as it is indisputable on the ritual, organization, and religious life of the infant Church. It may be safely pronounced the most remarkable discovery in ecclesiastical literature in recent times. This discovery is due to the present metropolitan of Nicomedia, previously metropolitan of Serræ, Philotheos Bryennios. This learned ecclesiastic had already become favourably known to western scholars at the old Catholic conference at Bonn in 1875. But few can have been fully prepared for the eminent gifts

* Appendix to 'S. Clement of Rome,' p. 231.

† 'Report of Carlisle Church Congress, p. 230.

displayed, first in his edition of Clement, and still more notably in that of the 'Teaching.' In these, especially the latter, we find an accurate scholarship, a familiarity with the whole domain of early ecclesiastical literature as well as an acquaintance with the latest results of modern criticism, together with a sobriety of thought and a soundness of judgment which would do credit to the ripest scholar of the western world. In the words of the Bishop of Durham,* we may well regard it as 'a most cheering sign of the revival of intellectual life in the Oriental Church when in this unexpected quarter an editor steps forward, furnished with all the appliances of western learning and claims recognition from educated Christendom, as a citizen in the great commonwealth of literature.' Seldom indeed has an *editio princeps* appeared with so complete an 'apparatus criticus,' for which the whole domain of Early Christian literature has been ransacked, and its results arranged with a clear estimate of their bearing on the work under consideration. The original intention of Bryennios was, after the publication of the Epistles of Clement, to prepare a new edition of the Epistle of Barnabas. We can hardly be sorry that he has not carried out this purpose, and has devoted his powers to the interpretation and illustration of the far more important and interesting 'Teaching.' Any regret we might have felt has been removed by his generous communication of the new readings of this Codex to Hilgenfeld, by whom they have been employed in his recent edition of that epistle,† which has thus supplied that 'new authority for the Greek of Barnabas,' which Bishop Lightfoot has said would be 'a great gain.' Bryennios' *editio princeps* of the 'Teaching' issued from the press of S. E. Butyra at Constantinople, towards the end of 1883, in a form and style of which no western printing-office would be ashamed. This has been followed in rapid succession by several German editions. We may specially mention those of Hilgenfeld,‡ and of Gebhardt and Harnack,§ both with learned prolegomena and annotations, and the latter enriched with dissertations on the chief points of interest supplied by the treatise. Wünsche has also given

* 'S. Clement,' Appendix, p. 231.

† 'Barnabæ Epistolæ,' edidit Adolph Hilgenfeld. Lipsiæ, 1877. This edition is appropriately dedicated by the 'gratissimus editor,' to Bryennios, 'Orientalis Ecclesiæ splendido lumini.' The new readings have also been employed by Gebhardt and Harnack in their edition of the 'Patres Apostolici.' Leipzig, 1878.

‡ 'Novum Testamentum extra Canonem.' Fasciculus IV. Lipsiæ, 1884.

§ 'Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur.' Leipzig, 1884.

us a very convenient and moderately priced edition, with an excellent German translation and brief notes.* The credit of the first introduction of this precious ecclesiastical *ἔργον* to the English public must be assigned to Canon Wordsworth, Oriel Professor at Oxford, who, under the initials J. W., contributed an article to 'The Guardian' newspaper of March 19th of last year, describing the nature and characteristics of the newly published treatise, and detailing the chief points on which it supplied information concerning the early Church, and pronouncing it to be a genuine work of the last years of the first century or the beginning of the second. Though in some points the learned author may have seen cause subsequently to modify his conclusions, what has since been written has substantially added but little to the information supplied by this very remarkable article. Other letters to the same journal have contributed to the elucidation and intelligent estimate of this treatise. We may especially instance that of Dr. Sadler (June 4th), and that with the initials E. L. H.† (June 25th), which after Prof. Wordsworth's letter certainly exhibits the most scholarlike treatment of the work it has hitherto received in England. Translations of the 'Teaching' have appeared in 'The Contemporary Review' for May by Archdeacon Farrar, and in 'The Foreign Church Chronicle' for June, 1884, by Canon Meyrick. The Archdeacon of Westminster has also contributed to 'The Expositor' for May of last year a popular account of the treatise itself, and in the part of the same periodical for August has discussed its bearings on the canon of Scripture. The only complete editions of the work hitherto published in England are the very handy and careful little book by the Rev. H. de Romestin, which in a small compass contains all that is necessary to explain and illustrate the 'Teaching,'‡ and the more elaborate and outwardly attractive volume by Canon Spence, Vicar of St. Pancras.§ Both of these editions supply the Greek text, an English translation, notes, and illustrations. Of the two editions, Mr. de Romestin's is the more scholarly, Canon Spence's the more popular. The one is intended for the use of the student, the other for the general reader, for whose behoof also the Canon appends a sermon entitled, 'The Old Paths,' preached in St. Paul's cathedral on Sunday evening, June 22,

* 'Lehre der Zwölf Apostel.' Leipzig, 1884.

† It is an open secret that the writer of this letter is the Rev. Edward Lee Hicks, Rector of Fenny Compton, late Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

‡ Parker and Co. 1884.

§ Nisbet and Co. 1885.

1884, in which he sets forth the main character of the treatise, and with happy power of adaptation, shows its applicability to the men and women of London at the present day. The sermon is one which it must have been interesting to listen to, and which it is pleasant and instructive to read.

But the most important contribution to our knowledge of the 'Teaching' and our estimate of its value is the paper read by the late Bishop of Durham at the Church Congress held at Carlisle last October, and published in the recently issued report.* We shall have so frequently to refer to this paper in the course of our article that we will content ourselves now with saying that it stamps with the authority of one of the first scholars of Europe in the domain of ecclesiastical literature, the perfect genuineness of the document, the probability of its very early date, and the confidence with which we may use it as an unbiassed witness regarding the canon of Scripture, the Christian ministry, the sacraments and ordinances of the Church, and Christian teaching in the age immediately subsequent to the apostles. May we venture to express the hope that in this short paper we have only an instalment of Bishop Lightfoot's critical labours, and that we may before long have the satisfaction of welcoming an edition of the 'Teaching,' similar to that which he has given us of the Epistles of Clement, and has promised of those of Ignatius. Is it too much to ask that the powers of one who by common consent holds the first place among English scholars in this department of literature may be brought to bear upon the elucidation of the many interesting, not to say momentous, questions presented by a work belonging to the epoch with which he is so familiar?

But it is time that we should turn from editions of the *Διδαχὴ τῶν Αποστόλων* to the work itself.

The first point which presents itself for our consideration is its history. What do early Christian authorities tell us of it? What references to it do their works contain? These, it will be seen, are neither scanty nor unimportant.

The earliest notice of the work is in the celebrated passage of Eusebius,† in which he sums up the somewhat desultory statements as to the canon of Scripture he had made in the previous chapters. Dividing the writings which laid claim to apostolic authority into three principal groups: the 'Acknowledged' (*ὁμολογούμενοι*), the 'Disputed' (*ἀντιλεγόμενοι*),

* 'Official Report of the Carlisle Church Congress,' pp. 230-232. Bemrose and Sons, London and Derby.

† Euseb., 'H. E.' lib. iii. c. 25.

and the 'Heretical,' he proceeds to subdivide the second group into two sections: the 'Generally recognized' (γνώριμοι τοῖς πολλοῖς), and the 'Spurious' (νόθοι) understanding by the latter term books of whose genuineness and authenticity and of the apostolic standing of their authors, there was not satisfactory evidence. In this class, that of the 'spurious,' he ranks 'the Acts of Paul, the so-called "Shepherd," the "Revelation of Peter," and, in addition to these, that which was current as the Epistle of Barnabas, and the *so-called Teachings of the Apostles*,' τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαί.*

The contrast which follows between these controverted books and heretical writings is of great importance in settling the position which the 'Teaching' occupied in the early Church.† Eusebius' words prove that the book was not regarded by any as heretical—a conclusive refutation of those who would assign it a heterodox origin—or it would have been rejected as, to adopt his description, 'in every way monstrous and impious.' We see also that Eusebius regarded its style (ὁ τῆς φράσεως χαρακτήρ), as in harmony with what he calls 'the apostolic tone' (τὸ ἥθος τὸ ἀποστολικόν), and that the book was recognized in some sense as Scripture, and was in public use in some congregations of the Christian world. We thus gain from our earliest witness a high though not the highest position for our book.

The next authority by whom the 'Teaching' is mentioned is Athanasius, some forty years later, in his thirty-ninth Festal Epistle belonging to the year 367 A.D. In this, when dealing with so-called 'apocryphal writings,' which he describes as the invention of heretics who affixed dates and names to these compositions according to their pleasure, 'in order that bringing them forward as ancient they may thereby have a pretext for deceiving the guileless,' he distinguishes from such pernicious forgeries 'that which is called the Teaching of the Apostles,' and groups it with the Shepherd of Hermas, the apocryphal books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, Esther, Judith and Tobit, as writings 'excluded from the canon, but authorized by the Fathers as worthy of being read by recent converts to the faith desirous of being instructed in the word of godliness.'‡ This passage affords an additional proof that in the fourth century the 'Teaching' was well known in the Church, though it was not, like the

* Euseb., Hist. Eccl. iii. 25.

† Harnack, 'Texte und Untersuchungen,' p. 6.

‡ Athanas., 'Epist. Fest.' xxxix.

Shepherd of Hermas, used for public reading in the congregation, but by long-standing custom had been allowed for the training of catechumens—to adopt Jerome's words borrowed in the Sixth Article of the Church of England,—‘for example of life and instruction of manners.’ The marked distinction he also draws between this book and those he groups with it, and the heretical writings against which it is his object to warn his readers, is another convincing proof of its recognized orthodoxy.*

We have to pass over several centuries before we again meet with any reference to the ‘Teaching’ in a catalogue of canonical and apocryphal Scripture. Its absence from these catalogues both Eastern and Western seems to prove that the book had obtained but little currency, and had gradually dropped out of knowledge. There is a possible reference to it in its adulterated form as one of the ‘holy books worthy of reverence’ received by the Church, in the seventy-sixth of the so-called Apostolical Canons under the title ‘The Constitutions given to the Bishops by Clement,’ but we find no certain mention of it before the ‘Stichometria’ of Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 828.† This is a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of Holy Scripture generally recognized by the Church,‡ giving in each case the number of lines, *στίχοι*, occupied in the Codex. From this latter circumstance it takes its name, ‘Stichometria.’ In the list of the New Testament books he first enumerates the twenty-six universally recognized books, then the ‘antilegomena’—a class comprising only the Apocalypse of John, that of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Gospel according to the Hebrews—and concludes with the ‘apocryphal’ books. This class includes the Journeys of Peter, of John, and of Thomas, the Gospel according to Thomas, the two Epistles of Clement, the Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp, the Shepherd of Hermas, and, occupying the fifth place,

* Canon Churton, in a letter to ‘The Guardian,’ stigmatizes it as ‘distinctly anti-Pauline and heretical,’ pervaded by a ‘Sadducean tendency,’ and says that in ‘evading the doctrine of the Cross’ ‘it corresponds exactly to the teaching which might be expected from the false apostles and deceitful workers who transformed themselves into apostles of Christ.’ With calmer judgment Prebendary Sadler writes in the same paper, ‘This treatise must be either ante-Pauline or anti-Pauline. I would earnestly hope the former, for the writer must have been a very pious, God-fearing man, having an earnest zeal of God, though certainly not according to the knowledge of God and Christ set forth in the writings of SS. Peter, Paul, and John’ June 4, 1884).

† Credner, ‘Zur Gesch. d. Kana,’ pp. 119 ff. Westcott, ‘Canon of New Test.’ p. 576. ‘Corpus. Script. Hist. Byzant.’ tom. i. Bonn, 1829.

‡ Ὅσαι εἰςὶ Θεῖαι γραφαὶ ἐκκλησιαζόμεναι καὶ κεκανονισμέναι, καὶ ἡ τούτων στιχομετρία,

between the Gospel of Thomas and the Epistles of Clement, the *Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων*. The number of lines assigned to it, 200 (στίχοι σ'), corresponds so nearly with that of the recently discovered Codex (203 according to Bryennios' enumeration) that the identity of the two is placed beyond all doubt.* We should again notice that there is no hint of the heretical character of the book. Of much inferior value, but not without importance, is the mention of the *Διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων* (the plural being used as in Eusebius instead of the more customary singular) in a Catalogue of Holy Scripture appended to a work of Anastasius Sinaita, the patriarch of Antioch (died 599 A.D.) This catalogue enumerates sixty canonical books, nine deuterocanonical, and twenty-five apocryphal. In the last class, between the Apocalypse of Peter and the Epistle of Barnabas, we find 'The Journeyings and Teachings of the Apostles.' The vagueness seems to show that these books were only known to the compiler of the catalogue by name, and were no longer current. The spurious 'Synopsis of the Old and New Testament,' which bears the name of Athanasius, ascribed by Credner to the tenth century, also contains the *Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων* among the antilegomena of the New Testament.† Later authorities had lost all knowledge of the 'Teaching' as an independent work, and usually identified it with the 'Constitutions.' Zonaras, in the twelfth century, states that some regarded the *Διδαχὴ* as the same book as the *Διατάξεις*, the reading of which, as a book corrupted by heretics, had been prohibited by the Sixth Council, A.D. 680, while Blastares, in the fourteenth century, goes a step further, and boldly states the identity of the two.‡ It is evident that no copies of the original work were anywhere known to which reference could be made, or such a confusion would have been impossible, and the true connection of the two, the 'Teaching' and the 'Constitutions,' in the seventh book of which the 'Teaching' is, so to say, imbedded, with alterations and additions corresponding with the change of usage and ritual, would have been recognized.

But it is not in the catalogues of the book of Holy Scripture alone that the early currency and authority of the 'Teaching' are recognized. This may be gathered even more con-

* The marked difference in length formed a difficulty which it was not easy to evade to those who were, previous to Bryennios' discovery, disposed to identify the *Διδαχὴ* of Nicephorus with Book VII. of the 'Apostolical Constitutions'.

† Bryennios, *κἀ*, note 2; Harnack, *u.s.* p. 10, note 14; Credner, *u.s.* p. 248.

‡ Zonar. apud Coteler, 'Patr. App.' I, 193; Migne, 'Patrol.' i. 552; Blastar. Coteler, p. 194; Migne, 'u.s.'

vincingly from the use made of it by early ecclesiastical writers. If we were able to accept unhesitatingly the genuineness of the Pfaffin fragments of Irenæus we should have a primitive authority of the highest value. At the opening of the celebrated passage,* in which the spiritual nature of the eucharistic sacrifice as opposed to a carnal sacrifice is declared, and the bread and cup are described as being the antitypes of the body and blood of Christ, there is a reference to the 'Second Ordinances of the Apostles' (ταῖς δευτέραις τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεσι) introducing the quotation from Malachi i, 11, which we find in the same connection in the fourteenth chapter of the 'Teaching.' But if this reference is precarious, there is no question of the use of this book, or, perhaps it would be safer to say, of the oral formulary of which the 'Teaching' presents the earliest form, by Clement of Alexandria. In the first book of the 'Stromata,'† after quoting Proverbs xxi. 17 as 'Scripture' (ἐξεῖπεν ἡ γραφή) and John vii. 18 as the words of Christ (φησὶν ὁ κύριος), he proceeds to adduce as of equal authority a sentence which we find in the 'Teaching' (ch. iii. 5). When condemning those who appropriated the wisdom of the barbarians and boasted of it as their own, he proceeds, 'such an one is said to be a thief by *Scripture*: for it says, "My son, be not a liar; for a lie leads to theft."' The lax use of the word 'Scripture,' *γραφή*, not only in the uncanonical writings, of which James iv. 5 is an example (cf. Luke xi. 49), forbids us to press this reference too far. Irenæus (to give a single example), as noticed by Eusebius ('H. E.' v. 8), quotes Hermas as Scripture ('Adv. Hær.' iv. 20. 2), and in the 'Teaching' itself (ch. i. 6) an anonymous saying, the source of which is entirely unknown, is introduced by, 'it hath been said,' *εἰρηται*. But the form of Clement's quotation is a sufficient evidence that the book was known and its authority recognized in the last decade of the second century. There are other less certain references to the phraseology of the 'Teaching' in Clement. The description of wine as 'the blood of the Vine of David'‡ recalls the remarkable phraseology of the Eucharistic prayer, 'We give thanks to Thee our Father for the Holy Vine of David, Thy servant' (ch. ix. 1), but we can hardly regard it as borrowed from it. The two more probably have a common

* Irenæi opera. ed. Stieren, tom i. p. 854. Ed. W. Wigan Harvey, vol. ii. p. 500; Hilgenfeld, 'Didascal. Apost. Antiq. Fragm.' p. 78.

† Clem. Alexand. 'Strom.' I. 20, 100, p. 377.

‡ Οἶνον τὸ αἷμα τῆς ἀρπέλου τῆς Δαβὶδ ἐγγέας—'Quis Dives Salvetur,' c. 29.

source. Still less is his reference to the familiar imagery of the 'Two Ways'* to be pressed. Bryennios, the minuteness of whose research appears the more remarkable the more attentively his *apparatus criticus* is examined, adduces a passage from the late sixth century writer, 'John of the Ladder' (Joannes Climacos), which seems to indicate a recollection of the language of the 'Teaching.' It runs thus: 'It is the part of the godly to give to him that asketh, and of the more godly even to him that asketh not: but from him that taketh away the goods not to ask them again, though you are well able to do so, perhaps belong only to those devoid of feeling and to solitaries.'† When we compare this passage with that in the 'Teaching':‡ 'If any man take away thy goods ask them not again, for neither art thou able; give to every one that asketh thee, and ask it not again,' the employment of the same words, though the turn of the thought is different, suggests that the passage in the 'Teaching' was known to the writer, and that the sentence was running in his head.

Turning from the East to the West, the utmost diligence of Bryennios has discovered no more than two passages from western writers indicating any acquaintance with the 'Teaching.'§ The fragment 'De Aleatoribus,' attributed at one time to Cyprian, combines two sentences from different parts of the work in one quotation,|| as from the 'Teachings of the Apostles,' 'in Doctrinis Apostolorum.' No other quotation or trace of any acquaintance with the text of the treatise is to be found in any other western writers. But Rufinus of Aquileia, republishing the Canon of Jerome, c. 410 A. D., among the books regarded, not as 'canonical' but 'ecclesiastical,' which were allowed to be read in church, but not used for the establishment of the faith, mentions the Shepherd of Hermas and another short book, *libellus*, known under alternative titles as the 'Duæ Viæ,' or the 'Judicium secundum Petrum.' Jerome also enumerates 'Petri Judicium' among the books erroneously attributed to St. Peter, in the first chapter of his 'De Viris Illustribus.' We cannot reasonably question that the title 'Duæ Viæ' indicates, if not the actual work which has been so unexpectedly disinterred, in the form in which we now possess it, yet certainly the original source of the earlier part of it, descriptive of the way of life and the way of death. The

* Clem. Alex. 'Strom.' v. 5. 31.

† Migne, 'Patrolog. Græc.' lxxxviii. p. 1029.

‡ Ch. i. 4. 5. § 'Teaching,' c. iv. 14; xiv. 2.

|| Cyprian Op. Ed. Fell. Appendix, p. 32.

alternative title, 'Judicium Petri,' may be most probably explained on the hypothesis of Harnack, that as in the 'Epitome' and in the last book of the 'Apostolic Constitutions' the various moral rules and ecclesiastical and ritual ordinances are fictitiously assigned to different members of the apostolic body, with the view of imparting a more definite authority to them, so, with as little warrant, the whole was in this case put into the mouth of Peter, the spokesman of the apostles, and proposed to the catechumens on his authority to give more weight to the code.* This will appear more natural when we bear in mind the close relation of Jerome, from whom Rufinus borrowed the title, with the Church of Rome and the chair of St. Peter.

We pass now to the probable date of the 'Teaching.' Here, as Bishop Lightfoot has remarked, we are met with the preliminary difficulty that it does not carry its date on its face, and that we must have recourse to critical inferences to establish its age. The evidence, however, in favour of an early date is very strong. Bryennios, indeed, places it as late as A.D. 140-160, Harnack between 135 and 165 A.D. But we think Bishop Lightfoot is nearer the mark in dating it with most English and some German critics somewhere between A.D. 80-110. The grounds of decision are almost exclusively internal. The quotation from the 'Teaching' by Clement of Alexandria gives us a very valuable *terminus ad quem*, which absolutely forbids our placing it later than c. 200 A.D. The internal evidence warrants our dating it much earlier. It is impossible to read the document without being conscious of its primitive character in every part. The moral earnestness which breathes throughout it, and 'the archaic simplicity, almost the childishness,' to adopt Bishop Lightfoot's words, both of its commands and its prohibitions, bespeak the infancy of a church. To this we may add what Professor Wordsworth calls 'a general quietness of tone as to Church questions.' No writing can be more completely uncontroversial. There is absolutely no reference to dogmatic differences. All turns on purity of life and uprightness of conduct. The entire absence of distinctively Christian doctrine, the want of any reference not only to the sacrificial aspect of the death of Christ as an atonement for sin, but to the fact of His death at all; the complete silence as to the resurrection and the gift of the Holy Spirit or

* Harnack acutely calls attention to the phrase *τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον* in the shorter Appendix to St. Mark, and *οἱ περὶ Πέτρον* in Ignatius 'Ad Smyrn.,' 3, 2, for the apostolic body, as an indication of the readiness with which the name of Peter alone might take the place of that of the Twelve.

His renewing and sanctifying influences; the high moral tone without any mention of the grace of God by which alone the Church of Christ has learnt to believe that true morality is attainable by fallen man; in short, the unspiritual, undoc-trinal, undogmatic character, which has led some writers hastily to condemn it as an heretical book purposely evading the doctrine of the Cross, all point to an epoch of which the Epistle of St. James is the exponent, before the Pauline theology had penetrated, and, we may add, vivified the Church. It speaks of a time when the oral tradition of the words and works of Christ, on which the Synoptic Gospels were based, was the only representative of the present New Testament, and the Epistles of St. Paul and other apostles were slowly becoming known to and winning their way to a position of authority among the scattered congregations of the Christian Church. As Dr. Westcott has observed, "Those who had heard the living voice of apostles were unlikely to appeal to their written words."* The words and phrases which recall the language of the Epistles are not to be regarded as quotations, but rather as an evidence that a new phraseology had sprung up which had become the common property of Christians, used by them unconsciously without reference to the passages in which, for us, the expressions have become stereotyped. Had the work been later the quotations could not fail to have been more copious and more exact.

We are led to the same early date by the remarkable picture the 'Teaching' presents of the ritual and organization of the Church. Both are of the simplest character, such as we find in the Acts and Apostolic Epistles, and nowhere else, not even in the Apostolic Fathers. The apostles, prophets, and teachers of the primitive Church, as they are presented to us in Acts xiii. 1, 1 Cor. xii. 28, Eph. iv. 11, and elsewhere, still form the recognized framework of the Christian ministry; not, however, connected with individual congregations, but itinerating. Of a localized episcopate, or of bishops as a separate order, there is not a hint. The localized ministry, existing side by side with this superior itinerating ministry, is of two orders only: The congregations are independent, self-governing bodies, ministered to by 'presbyters,' who are still called 'bishops,' as in Phil. i. 1 and in the Pastoral Epistles, and by deacons. These ministers are appointed by the congregations themselves. Nothing is said of ordination, though we must not make too much of the *argumentum e silentio*. The Church is still living in anticipation of the return of its Lord, 'the

* 'History of the Canon,' p. 55.

Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven,' when its scattered congregation, dispersed like grains of wheat on the hills, should all be united in His kingdom, For this unknown day they will ever be on the watch as for their life, on their guard against the 'world deceiver' (*κοσμοπλάνος*), whose coming would inaugurate a period of fearful trial, before the advent of Christ. For them, as for those to whom St. James wrote, 'the coming of the Lord' was drawing nigh, 'the judge was standing before the door' (Jas. v. 9), and the great event would not be long deferred.

The same early period is also shown by the absence of all reference to the heretical tendencies which so soon began to affect the Church. The 'false prophets,' against whom a warning is directed, are not described as heretics, or mis-believers, but inconsistent Christians, such as made a merchandize of their professed spiritual gifts, and whose lives were not in accordance with their teaching, men who sought to overthrow (*καταλῦσαι*, cf. Matt. v. 17) the moral law as expounded by Christ. There is not the slightest reference to the Docetic and early Gnostic controversies, such as are to be found abundantly in the Ignatian Epistles. In this respect the 'Teaching' is separated by a great gulf from the Epistles of St. John. Bryennios' view that these warnings are specially aimed at the 'Antitactæ,' an Antinomian sect who followed out the teaching of Carpocrates and the earlier Gnostics to their legitimate issue, has absolutely nothing to support it. The same may be said of the supposed reference to Montanism, also seen by Bryennios, and still more of the additions to the text in a Montanistic interest which Hilgenfeld imagines he has discovered.* We see the tendencies which at a little later period developed in these erroneous systems, but not the systems themselves. The evil leaven was working but had not yet come to a head.

Again, the Eucharist is not yet separated from the Agape. The expression, 'after they have been filled,' 'satisfied,' *μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*, when the writer is describing what follows the reception of the Eucharist, indicates a meal such as that described by St. Paul in the Corinthian Church (1 Cor. xi. 17-34), where, at the most sacred of all religious rites, it was still possible for one of the communicants (to adopt modern phraseology) to be hungry and eat voraciously, and another to drink to excess.† 'The separation of the two, the Eucharist and the Agape,' remarks Bishop

* Hilgenfeld, *u. s.*, pp. 94, 104 ff.

† Harnack's note is 'Also noch eine wirkliche Mahlzeit,' and that of Hilgenfeld, 'Eucharistia vere coena communis, nondum separata ab agape.'

Lightfoot, 'seems to have taken place about the time of the Bithynian persecution under Pliny, A.D. 112. In the age of Justin Martyr they are evidently distinct.' The change from 'after they are filled' into 'after participation,' *μετὰ τὴν μετέληψιν*, in the corresponding passage of the 'Apostolical Constitutions' indicates an alteration of usage, necessitating the alteration of phrase.

As to the place of composition there is still less to guide us. There is not a single word or expression indicative of any one country more than another, while the absence of all local colour deprives us of what is sometimes a welcome aid. The localities suggested are as various as the vagueness of the data allows. The permission to use warm water for the baptismal rite has been thought possibly to point to a cold climate. But such an induction is in the highest degree precarious. Professor Wordsworth 'can only suggest vaguely some Church of Greece or Macedonia.' 'Corinth does not seem wholly impossible, or Athens, or even Philippi.' With the last named Church the mention of 'bishops and deacons' as the resident ministry, as in Phil. i. 1, presents a slender thread of connection, which must not however be strained. The judgment of the ablest scholars seems tending to Egypt as its birthplace. 'Our work,' writes Bishop Lightfoot, 'may with some probability be assigned to Alexandria; all its affinities are Alexandrian.' Harnack takes the same view, which is also that of Funk,* partly led to it by the absence in the 'Teaching' of the word 'kingdom' in the doxology of the Lord's Prayer, which also occurs in a Sahidic or Upper Egyptian version of the Gospels† and its close connection with the Epistle of Barnabas.

With regard to its author, there is much to lead us to the belief that he was a Jewish Christian of the milder and more conciliatory type, probably an Hellenist. Not a violent opponent of Jewish observances like the so-called Barnabas, but at the same time advocating a sharp distinction between Christian and Jews, as in the matter of the biweekly fast. These are not to be held, like those of 'the hypocrites,' on Monday and Thursday, but on Wednesday and Friday.‡ Abstinance from forbidden meats is not to be rigidly enforced, but an allowance made for human weakness. Other indications

* 'Tübingen Quartalschrift.' 1884, p. 382.

† Tischendorf, 'Apparat. ad Matt.' vi. 13: 'quoniam tuum est robur et potentia in ævum ævi.' Westcott and Hort, vol. ii. App. p. 8: ὅτι σὸν ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἰσχύς εἰς τὼς αἰῶνας. (Cf. Greg. Nyssen. i. 761.)

‡ The first mention of the Wednesday and Friday fast, after that in the 'Teaching,' in the Alexandrine Clement, 'Stromat.' vii. 75.

of a Jewish training have been seen in the use of the phrase *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* — the Jewish day beginning at nightfall, which the compiler of the 'Apostolical Constitutions' has instinctively changed into *ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός* ;* perhaps in the command to pray three times a day ; in the title given to the settled prophets of 'your high priests,' (c. xiii. 3), which Hilgenfeld without sufficient reason regards as a Montanist addition, and by the directions concerning 'the first fruits of the press, and of the flour, of oxen and of sheep, of bread and of wine, of silver and of raiment, and of every possession,' to be rendered to them in their high-priestly character, or, in their absence to the poor.† Slight as these indications may appear separately, collectively taken they tend to confirm the view adopted by Bishop Lightfoot, that it may have been the work of 'some pious Jew.' Canon Spence's suggestion, that we may identify our author with Symeon the Lord's kinsman, 'the successor of James as bishop of the Jerusalem Church, then located at Pella,' who 'addressed his children of the Pella Gentiles in this beautiful and practical manual of Christian life,' or with 'one of his disciples possibly,' is ingenious, but lacks all evidence and, we may add, probability.

The religious position of our author is very much that of St. James in his Epistle. Moral duties are inculcated while faith is kept in the background, and the fruits of faith are more insisted on than faith itself. And clear reference to the Divinity of Christ is as absent from the 'Teaching' as it is from St. James. His miraculous conception is not hinted at. His equality with the father is only found in the baptismal formula, which is identical with that of St. Matthew xxviii. 19. Save in the closing sentence Christ is not designated *Ἰδιος Θεοῦ* 'the Son of God,' but as in the addresses of St. Peter in the first days of the Jerusalem Church, *παῖς θεοῦ* the 'servant of the Jehovah,' of the Hebrew prophets. There is not the slightest reference to His miracles. His person and mediatorial work retire completely into the background, implicitly held but not explicitly enunciated, and Christ appears almost exclusively as the great moral Teacher, laying down the ways of life and of death. The personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit are ceremonially recognized in the baptismal formula,

* The contrary collocation, *ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός* in 1 Clem. ii., has led Hilgenfeld to the conclusion that the writer of the Epistle was not a Jew but a Gentile. Dr. Lightfoot pronounces 'this argument more specious than sound.' In the Apocrypha the order is always 'day and night,' in St. Paul always 'night and day,' while St. Luke in either order is used indifferently.

† *Ὁὐ πᾶς* for *οὐδεὶς*, 'Teaching,' ii. 7, is another trace of Hebraistic style.

but as in St. James there is a complete silence respecting His work and influence, except in the province of prophetic inspiration. Besides this doctrinal resemblance there are other interesting points of correspondence between these two writings. One of these is the direction for public confession preceding prayer. 'Thou shalt confess thy transgressions in the congregation, and shalt not come to thy prayer with an evil conscience' ('Teaching,' iv. 14) ; 'Give thanks after confessing your transgressions that your sacrifices may be pure' (ibid. xiv. 1), present a somewhat close parallel to James v. 16 ; 'Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another.' An even more interesting correspondence is presented in the warning against double-mindedness or doubtfulness in prayer, *διψυχία*, found in both. 'Thou shalt not be doubtful (*οὐ διψυχῆσεις*) whether it shall be or not' ('Teaching,' iv. 4.) recalls at once St. James' words, 'let him ask in faith nothing doubting . . . a double-minded man (*ἀνὴρ διψυχος*) is unstable in all his ways' (Jas. i. 6-8 ; cf. iv. 8).*

Bryennios is singular in considering our treatise as addressed to Jewish Christians. But its internal character is in perfect agreement with the fuller title. 'The teaching of the Lord, by the twelve Apostles to the Gentiles,' the form of which was borrowed from Acts ii. 42. There is, however, no attempt to represent the contents of the book as the direct teaching of the apostles, as has been done in most awkward fashion by the publishers of the 'Epitome of the Decisions of the Apostles,' and of the 'Apostolical Constitutions.' The document professes to be no more than an abstract of the teaching of Christ, as the apostles published it to the world. As well described by Harnack, 'the work is really, as its title asserts, a definite statement of the teaching which had Christ as its author, and which was given to Christians, as the *ἐκκλησία*, for their collective Christian and church life, as the author conceived it to have been published and communicated by the twelve apostles.' 'It is plain that the chief object of the author was to com-

* The reference which from brevity of statement is left rather obscure in the 'Teaching' is made clear by comparison with other related passages. In Barnabas the passages are almost identical : *οὐ μὴ διψυχήσης πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ* (Barn. xix, 5), Hermas is more definite : *Εαν διστάσης ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου οὐδὲν οὐ μὴ λήψῃ τῶν αἰτημάτων σου, οἱ γὰρ διστάζοντες εἰς τὸν θεὸν οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τῶν αἰτημάτων αὐτῶν* (Herm. 'Mandat.' viii.) The Epistle to Heron of the Pseudo-Ignatius uses the word in the same reference : *μὴ γίνου δίψυχος ἐν προσευχῇ σου ~ μακάριος γὰρ ὁ μὴ διστάσας* (Ep. ad Heron. c. 7, ap. Bryenn. p. 20). We have a close similarity of language but in a somewhat different connection in Hermas. Vis. iv. ad fin : *διὰ τοὺς διψύχους καὶ διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν εἰ ἄρα ἔστι ταῦτα ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν.*

bine the most important rules for Christian life—the *διδάγματα τοῦ κυρίου*—in a summary form, easy at once of comprehension and retention in the memory, to be taught and learnt by all Christians; a short and exhaustive directory by which Christians might guide their whole life.*

But it is time that we should give some account of the book itself. It is by no means a lengthy document, extending, as we have seen, to about two hundred lines of an ordinary Greek codex, about the length of the Epistle to the Galatians. It is divided into sixteen chapters,† which may be grouped in two main divisions, the former part (cc. i.–vi.) containing commands and prohibitions relating to moral duties, entitled the ‘Way of Life,’ and the ‘Way of Death’ (the ‘Way of Light’ and the ‘Way of Darkness’ of the Epistle of Barnabas), primarily adapted to catechumens; the second part (cc. vii.–xvi.), adapted to an established Christian congregation, containing rules for the administration of the two sacraments, for fasting, prayer, public worship, and the organization of the ministry, concluding with an exhortation to watch for the second coming of Christ. The fuller title, the ‘Teaching of the Apostles to the Gentiles,’ belongs to the former portion only. This we may safely regard as a manual of instruction for catechumens, probably originally oral, representing the moral teaching of the Christian Church in its primitive apostolic form. We question whether it can be regarded as the original form of this manual. We are inclined rather to consider it as the earliest of the series of recensions of the document of the ‘Two Ways’ which, with interpolations and additions of greater or less extent, we have long had—almost without knowing it—in the second part of the Epistle of Barnabas, the seventh book of the ‘Apostolical Constitutions and in the work known under the various titles of the ‘Epitome’ of the Decisions of the Apostles,’ the ‘Constitutions,’ delivered by Clement,’ the ‘Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles,’ and the ‘*Duæ Viæ*,’ or the ‘*Judicium Petri*.’ A comparison of these works, which has been made very easy both by Bryennios and Mr. de Romestin, in his most convenient little edition, by the adoption of a different type for the parts where they are identical and where they diverge, renders it almost certain that all three are versions of the same original document, and that the ‘Teaching’ is the earliest.

* Harnack, ‘*Texte und Untersuch.*’ Bd. ii., Heft 1, pp. 26, 30, 32.

† It does not appear whether these divisions occur in the MS., or have been added by the editor.

The relative position of the 'Teaching' and the Epistle of Barnabas has been the subject of much discussion. 'We have,' says Dr. Lightfoot, 'two sets of critics, each maintaining with equal confidence and with some show of reason, the one that Barnabas borrows from the "Teaching," the other that the "Teaching" is indebted to Barnabas.' The learned discover and first editor of the 'Teaching' maintains the latter hypothesis. Any conclusion of Bryennios demands the utmost respect. But we think that this is decisively negatived by a comparison of the language and structure of the two documents. Such a comparison has been elaborately made, paragraph by paragraph, almost sentence by sentence, by a writer in 'The Guardian,'* which conclusively shows the inferiority of Barnabas in clearness of thought, vigour of language, and lucidity of arrangement, in a manner fatal to the hypothesis of that Epistle having been the earlier. This writer upholds the indebtedness of Barnabas to the 'Teaching.' In this we cannot agree with him. As we have already indicated, we agree with the Bishop of Durham in thinking that 'neither author plagiarizes from the other, but that both derive the matter they have in common from a third source.' This may have been a kind of manual for catechumens, probably not committed to writing, but transmitted orally. From this both writers quoted from memory, adding, like more modern writers in their quotations from Holy Scripture, what they thought would give greater emphasis to the words. 'Sometimes the sentences are repeated verbatim; sometimes they are extended; sometimes abridged; only very rarely do two sentences occur in the same order in each.' May we not say that the Synoptical Gospels exhibit the same phenomena, to be explained in the same way? We have the same stock of common material, with the same improbability of any one having borrowed from either of the others. The Epistle of St. Jude, and the second chapter of the Second Epistle of St. Peter, may be regarded as presenting another example of the practice of early Christian writers, in presenting varied recensions of the same underlying document.

It is important to observe that the correspondence between the two documents, with one exception ('Teaching,' xvi. 2; Barn. iv.), is confined to the four concluding chapters of Barnabas. These chapters are wanting in the old Latin translation, which closes at ch. 17, with the usual concluding

* E. A. H[icks], 'Guardian,' June 25, 1884. Archdeacon Farrar says (Expositor, May, 1884, p. 386), 'Most readers of any literary insight or experience will incline to the view that the simpler, less verbose, and less artificial language of the "Teaching" must be the earlier of the two.'

formula, 'Explicit Epistola Barnabæ'—'Here endeth the Epistle of Barnabas.' The difference in language and thought between these two portions of the document long since struck critics,* and suggested a difference of origin. A careful examination of the whole subject leads irresistibly to the conclusion that these latter chapters formed no part of the original epistle, but are a separate recension of the 'Two Ways,' somewhat clumsily tacked on by a later hand.

Bryennios is also of opinion that the writer of the 'Teaching' has borrowed from Hermas. There is, however, only a single passage ('Mand.' ii. 1, 'Teaching,' i. 5) where there is any identity of language, which may be explained, as elsewhere, by both writers having drawn from a common source.

The case of the collection known as the 'Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles,' or the 'Epitome of the Decisions of the Holy Apostles,' sometimes called the 'Duæ Viæ,' placed by Bickell at the beginning of the third century, is different. There is little doubt that the 'Way of Life' much as we have it in the 'Teaching' was the groundwork of the first portion of this curious work, elaborated by the adapter, with the interpolation of the names of the apostles to authenticate the decrees, James the Less and Matthias being omitted, and Cephas as well as Peter, and Nathanael as well as Bartholomew, being reckoned to make up the full number. A second part has been added dealing with the Sacraments and Church Organization. This portion manifests the date by the definite shape the Christian ministry has assumed. We have bishops, presbyters, readers, deacons, and widows, with the mode of the appointment and the qualifications of each, as well as the duties of the laity, both male and female. Quotations from the Pauline Epistles, which are wanting in the former part are copious here.†

Passing to the 'Teaching' itself, the following is a brief analysis of its contents—

Part I. CHRISTIAN LIFE. (A) *The Way of Life* (cc. i–iv.) and (B) *The Way of Death* (cc. v–vi.)

* Vitringa, 'Hypotyp. H. S.,' p. 228 ; Le Moyne, 'Varia Sacra,' vol. ii. p. 929 ; Donaldson, 'Christian Literature,' vol. i. p. 221.

† It is difficult to form any idea of the origin of the following extraordinary passage : 'John said, "Ye have forgotten, brethren, that when the Lord asked for the bread and the cup, and blessed them, saying, This is My body and blood, He did not permit them (women) to be associated with us." Martha said : "That was on account of Mary, because He saw her smiling." Mary said, "I did not laugh ; for He forewarned us when he was teaching that the weak should be saved by the strong." ' Hilgenfeld may well say (*u. s.* p. 121): "quæ de Maria subridente tam mira sunt ut jam Pitra dubitaverit an prisca sint aut ex arbitrio conficta, "

(A) *The Way of Life.* Perfect love to God (cc. v., vi.) and perfect love to man. (c. i.)

An expansion of the great Second Commandment, as given in the second table of the Decalogue, Commandments vi.-x. (c. ii.)

A warning against all evil passions leading to the breach of the above commandments (c. iii.)

Relative duties : to Christian ministers ; to Christians in general ; to those at variance ; to wrong-doers ; on receiving and giving ; to those in want ; to children ; to slaves ; to masters ; public confession of sins (c. iv.)

(B) *The Way of Death.* A catalogue of vices and sins, especially such as were prevalent among the heathen (c. v.)

A warning against being led astray from the truth ; relaxations of the full strictness of the law for those who were unequal to 'the whole yoke of the Lord,' with an absolute prohibition of meats offered to idols (c. vi.)

Part II. (C) SACRAMENTS, RITUAL, AND (D) CHURCH ORGANIZATION.

(C) *Sacraments and Ritual* (cc. vii.-x.)

(a) Baptism (c. vii.)

(b) Fasting, (c) Prayer, (d) the Lord's Prayer (c. viii.)

(e) The Eucharist. The eucharistical prayer before reception, and thanksgiving after reception. The prophets may be independent of set forms (cc. ix., x.)

(D) *Church Organization* (cc. xi.-xv.)

(f) Ordinances as to itinerating apostles and prophets. Rules for discerning the true from the false (c. xi.)

(g) Ordinances as to the reception of lay Christian wayfarers, and against those who seek to make a gain of the Christian profession. None are to live idle lives (c. xii.)

(h) True prophets and teachers, when settled in a Christian community, are to be supported from the first fruits of all kinds (c. xiii.)

(i) Ordinances for public worship and the celebration of the Eucharist on the Lord's Day. All disputes are to be previously settled 'that the sacrifice may not be defiled' (c. xiv.)

(k) The appointment of 'bishops' (presbyters) and 'deacons.' The duty of mutual brotherly reproof. Wilful wrongdoers to be virtually excommunicated. The 'Gospel' is the rule of life (c. xv.)

Part III. THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST. The duty of watchfulness for the unknown day ; the evils of the last times ; the revelation of the 'world deceiver ;' the signs of the Lord's coming ; the coming itself ; the world shall see Him (c. xvi.)

The first portion, containing the moral teaching, is at its commencement in close verbal correspondence with the Sermon on the Mount, but without strict accuracy of quotation. We notice also some singular divergences. 'Pray for those that persecute you,' is changed into 'Fast for,' &c. This mention of the vicarious use of fasting has a curious parallel in a quotation from the 'Apostolical Constitutions' given by Epiphanius: * 'When they (the Jews) feast, do you fast and mourn for them.' The precepts concerning bearing wrong meekly, derived from Matt. v. 39-41, close thus: 'If any man take from thee that which is thine own, ask it not again, for *neither art thou able*,' the reason implied probably being that a Christian is bound by his profession to suffer wrong rather than use force or go to law to redress it (cf. 1 Cor. vi. 6-8). To our Lord's words as to almsgiving, strong warnings are added against receiving alms when not really in need.

Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment, for he is guiltless. Woe to him that receiveth, for if he receives anything, having need, he shall be guiltless. But he that hath no need shall give an account why he received it, and for what; and, being in distress [*συνόχη*, Luke xxi. 25, 2 Cor. ii. 4], he shall be examined about what he hath done, and he shall not come out thence until he has paid the very last farthing.

This is followed by a singularly worded caution as to indiscriminate almsgiving, introduced as one of the 'faithful sayings,' or *ἀγράφα δόγματα*, current in the early Church—

Concerning this it has been said (*εἴρηται*), let thy alms sweat into thine hands until thou knowest to whom thou givest;

i.e., keep your money in your hands until it grows hot there and makes them sweat.

These precepts are followed by a series of prohibitions based on the commandments of the Second Table, including unnatural sins, magical rites and incantations, abortion and infanticide, and other specially heathen crimes. The section proceeds—

Thou shalt not be of a double mind or of a double tongue, for duplicity of tongue is a snare of death. Thy speech shall not be false or empty, but filled with fact (*μεμεστωμένος πράξει*).

And after warnings against covetousness, rapacity, hypocrisy and other sins, closes with—

Thou shalt hate no man, but some thou shalt rebuke, for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love above thine own soul.

* Epiphanius. 'Hær.' lxx. 11; Hilgenfeld *u.s.* p. 82.

Precautions against that which may lead to sin (Bishop Andrewes' 'Hedge of the Law'), follow in the next section, in which and the next the reader or hearer is addressed, as in 'Proverbs,' as 'My son.'

My son, be not lustful, for lust leads to whoredom ; nor a filthy talker, nor lofty eyed,* for from all these spring adulteries. My son, be not an observer of auguries, since it leads to idolatry ; nor one who practices charms, or astrology (*μαθηματικός*), or lustrations, nor be willing even to look at these things, for from all these springs idolatry.† My son, be not a liar, since a lie leads to theft.‡ Neither be thou a lover of money, nor vainglorious, for from all these spring thefts.

Then follow precepts regarding almsgiving ; the strict discipline of children is enforced, and the merciful treatment of slaves 'who trust in the same God as their masters,' while slaves are bidden to obey their masters, as 'the image of God, in modesty and fear,' and the 'Way of Life' closes with the command to confess one's sins in the public assembly, and not to come to pray with an evil conscience. Then follows the 'Way of Death,' and this earlier portion closes with a section, exhibiting a sympathy with human weakness which recalls Christ's words, 'He that can receive it let him receive it' (Matt. xix. 12), and St. Paul's, 'Let us, therefore, as many as be perfect be thus minded' (Phil. iii. 15).

If thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect ; but if thou art not able, do what thou canst. With regard to meats, bear what thou canst. But be earnestly on thy guard against meat sacrificed to idols, for that is the service of dead gods.

With this section the 'Teaching of the Gentiles' may be said to end. The next nine sections, probably originally a distinct

* *ὕψηλόφθαλμος*, apparently a 'hapax legomenon,' with which we may compare Prov. xxx. 13. In the Apostolic 'Constitutions' we have for it *ῥιψόφθαλμος*, 'casting lewd eyes.' We may compare 2 Pet. ii. 14. In the 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' as quoted by Bryennios (p. 14, note 8), we read *οὐκ ἐπόρνευσα ἐν μετiewρισμῷ ὀφθαλμῶν*.

† The three words here used for dealers in unlawful arts, *οἰωνοσκόπος*, *ἐπαιιδός*, *περικαθαίρων*, may be illustrated from the LXX. (Lev. xix. 26) : *οὐκ οἰωνεῖσθε οὐδὲ ὀρνιθοσκοπήσεσθε*, ver. 31 : *τοῖς ἐπαιδοῖς οὐ προσκολλήσεσθε*. Deut. xviii. 10, 11 : *οὐχ εὗρεθήσεται ἐν σοὶ περικαθαίρων τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ οἰωνιζόμενος, φαρμακὸς ἐπαιίδων ἐπαιιδήν*. The word *μαθηματικός* does not occur in the LXX. ; nor does it appear to be used in this meaning in classical Greek. We may illustrate it from Latin writers : 'Nota mathematicis genesis tua,' Juv. Sat. xiv. 248 ; see also vi. 564. Tacitus writes : 'Mathematici genus hominum potentibus infidum sperantibus fallax quod a civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur,' 'Hist.' i. 27. Tertullian couples together 'arioli, aruspices, mathematici,' 'Apolog.' c. 43.

‡ This is the passage which, as already remarked, is quoted by Clement of Alexandria ('Strom.' i. 20) as 'scripture.'

work containing the ordinances relating to the sacraments, worship, and the organization of the ministry. No part of the treatise has attracted more attention or demands more careful and unprejudiced consideration. The picture it presents of the Church in subapostolic times is almost startling in the simplicity of its framework and the bareness of its ritual, while it is invaluable in bringing before us what we find nowhere else, the arrangements of the ministry at the point of transition between the state of things described in the Acts and the Epistles, while the apostles were still living as the ultimate authority of doctrine and order, and that of which we find the commencement in the Ignatian Epistles, and the full development at the close of the second century.

Baptism is to be received fasting, the baptizer and some others, probably the witnesses, fasting also. It is important to observe that the whole of the ordinances in these latter sections are couched in the second person plural, as to the Church at large, 'baptize ye, &c.,' with no hint at any distinction of orders. Baptism is to be preceded by instruction in the 'Two Ways' and to be 'into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' It is to be performed if possible in 'living water,' *i.e.*, water from a spring or running stream, otherwise any water will suffice. If cold water is unsafe—from weakness of health, or from the season of the year—warm water may be used. Immersion is the rule, but if the supply is scanty, triple affusion is sufficient. There is no reference to infant baptism, affording another proof of the early date of the rule, the only persons contemplated being adult converts.

Fasting having been mentioned, the rule is laid down that the biweekly fast is not to be held on the same days as the hypocrites, the Jews—a memory and, we may add, a distortion of our Lord's words (Matt. vi. 16)—Monday, Thursday, but on Wednesday, the day of the Betrayal, and Friday (*παρασκευή*), that of the Crucifixion.

In prayer also the converts are not to imitate the 'hypocrites,' but three times a day to use that 'commanded by the Lord in His Gospel.' The Lord's Prayer is given exactly as it stands in St. Matthew vi. 9–13, except that the singular 'heaven' (*οὐρανῶ*) stands for the plural 'heavens' (*οὐρανοῖς*), and 'debt' (*ὀφειλήν*) for 'debts' (*ὀφειλήματα*). The prayer closes with the doxology, affording a very early example of its use, with the omission of 'kingdom' (*βασιλεία*).^{*} The same occurs in

^{*} We find the doxology in the same form in Gregory Nyssen, i. 761, *ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα ᾧμα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι*. Tischendorf in Matt. vi. 13.

the doxologies to the Eucharistic prayers, in one of which 'glory' precedes 'power.'

Passing to the Eucharist ; assemblies for breaking of bread and giving thanks, are to be held on the 'Lord's Day,' *κατὰ κυριακὴν κυρίου* (c. xiv.), a condensed form of the more fully developed expression in the 'Constitutions,' the resurrection day of the Lord, the 'Lord's day,' which carries us back in a very suggestive manner to St. John's use of the word (Rev. i. 10). Justin, it will be remembered, calls it 'the day of the sun.' There is no mention of any other service in connection with the Eucharist ; neither reading the scriptures, nor ministerial exhortations, nor lengthened public prayers, as described by Justin. None but the baptized are to partake. Before the Eucharistic service all offences are to be confessed publicly in the assembly, and breaches reconciled, in order that the sacrifice (*θυσία*) may be pure' (c. xiv. i., iv. 14). No one who has a difference with another is to join the assembly until he is reconciled, 'that the sacrifice may not be polluted.' The Eucharistic prayers over the Cup precede that over the Bread, as in Luke xxii. 17 ; and 1 Cor x 16. The bread is broken and is thence designated *κλάσμα*. Although the rite is called a 'sacrifice' there is nothing in the language of the prayers to indicate that it was regarded as a sacrificial commemoration of the death of Christ, and of the benefits derived therefrom by the Church. Strange as it may seem, this central idea of the Eucharist is never once alluded to. The Eucharist appears only as a thankful recognition of God's power and goodness in vouchsafing bodily and spiritual sustenance to his Church, and the 'knowledge' and 'life' and 'faith' and 'immortality' made known through 'Jesus Christ His servant' (*παῖδός* not *υἱόν*, as in Acts iii. 13 26 ; iv. 27, 30). The cup symbolizes the 'Vine of David'. The broken loaf (*κλάσμα*) made up of many grains 'once scattered upon the mountain and gathered together into one' symbolizes the future unity of the church, to be 'gathered from the ends of the earth,' and 'from the four winds,' 'into the kingdom He has prepared for her.' If the celebrant, as we should now call him, was a prophet, he, like Justin Martyr's uresident, *προεστὼς*, who might 'send up thanksgivings to the utmost of his power,' is not limited to the prescribed ritual, but is allowed to give thanks at as great a length as he pleases, *εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν*.

The importance of these Eucharistic sections is so great in their bearing on the history of the Christian liturgy, that we shall not scruple to lay a translation of them before our readers.

Ch. ix. Concerning the Eucharist, thus celebrate it (give thanks, *εὐχαριστήσατε*). First as regards the Cup. 'We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy servant, which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Christ Thy servant; to Thee be the glory for ever.' And for the broken Bread (*κλάσμα*), 'We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy servant. To Thee be the glory for ever. For as this broken Bread was scattered upon the mountains [in the act of sowing], and being brought together became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth* into Thy kingdom; for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever and ever.' But let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist but the baptized into the name of the Lord, for concerning this the Lord hath said, 'Give not that which is holy to the dogs.'

Ch. x. After you have been satisfied give thanks thus: 'We thank Thee, Holy Father, for Thy holy name which Thou hast made to tabernacle† in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy servant: to Thee be the glory for ever. Thou, O Almighty Lord (*δέσποτα πανοκράτορ*), didst create all things for Thy name's sake, and didst give food and drink to men for their enjoyment [Cf. 1 Tim. vi. 17, 'God who giveth us richly all things to enjoy'], in order that they might give Thee thanks; but to us Thou didst vouchsafe spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy servant. Before all things we thank Thee that Thou art mighty; to Thee be the glory for ever. Remember, Lord, Thy Church to deliver it from all evil, and to perfect it in Thy love,‡ and to gather it together from the four winds, the hallowed one, into Thy kingdom which Thou hast prepared for it; for Thine is the power and the glory for ever and ever. Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David.§ If any one is holy let him come; if any one is not holy let him repent. *Maranatha* [the Lord cometh]. Amen.'

A return is made to the Eucharist in a later section, in which some additional regulations concerning it are given.

Ch. xiv. On the Lord's day of the Lord gather ye together and break bread, and give thanks (or 'celebrate the Eucharist,' *εὐχαριστήσατε*), having, in addition thereto, confessed your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure. But let no one who has a difference with his fellow join the assembly until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be polluted. For this is (the sacrifice) which was spoken of by the Lord, 'In

* ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς. This phrase is of frequent occurrence in the ancient liturgies, *e. g.*, Litany of Constantinople, xv., Hammond, p. 118 f.

† Κατεσκήνωσας. This verb is only used intransitively in the New Testament, *e. g.*, Matt. xiii. 32; Acts ii. 26 (as the simple verb σκηνώω, John i. 14); but in the LXX. we find the intransitive use not unfrequent, *e. g.*, Psa. xxii. (xxiii.) 2; Num. xiv. 30; Prov. viii. 12. Bryennios, usually so accurate, is in error when he says, κατασκηνοῦν γάρ τί που, ἢ ἐν τίνι, οὐχ εὔρηται.

‡ Τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου. We have here, as in other places in these prayers, a likeness to Johannine language (cf. 1 John iv. 18). The previous clause reminds us of our Lord's prayer (John xvii. 15).

§ The reading of the MS. is *θεῶ*, altered by Bryennios into *ῑῶ*, to bring it into agreement with Matt. xxi. 9. See Harnack's note *in loc.*

every place and Time offer Me a pure sacrifice, for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and My name is wonderful among the nations.' *

This is the whole of the Eucharistic ritual presented to us by this, probably the oldest, liturgical document which has come down to us.

However we may be disposed to account for it, it is certainly a very remarkable fact that this Eucharistic service contains no reference to that which Christians have ever regarded as the central idea of the rite according to our Lord's own institution—the showing forth of His atoning death and the participation of the spiritual benefits of His broken Body and shed Blood. It would appear, indeed, that the words which all later Christians have regarded as the very essence of the celebration—'This is my Body,' 'This is My Blood'—were not used at all; that there was no mention of the institution of the rite by Christ, nor any allusion to the sacrificial efficacy of His death, still less to any repetition or representation of that sacrifice in the rite itself. It is true that the Eucharist is once spoken of as a sacrifice—'that your sacrifice (*θυσία*) may be pure' (ch. xiv. 1)—but it is evident from the whole context that, as in Clement,† the word was borrowed from the ritual of the Old Testament, and employed in a figurative sense, as 'a sacrifice of praise' (Heb. xiii. 15) for temporal and spiritual blessings—'food and drink for enjoyment,' and 'spiritual food and drink and eternal life,' vouchsafed through Jesus Christ, not a sacrificial commemoration of His death; and that it was offered by the whole congregation—'your sacrifice,—not by any individual minister acting as its representative or spokesman. As Dean Howson has remarked: 'There is no trace of any thought of participation except of a spiritual kind—no approach to that materialistic view of the subject which has, unhappily, become common among ourselves. On the contrary, the illumination of the mind, the quickening of the heart, are the points which throughout are made conspicuous.' ‡

* A combined quotation from memory from Malachi i. 11, 14; a passage which is constantly applied by early Christian writers to the Eucharistic sacrifice. The omission of incense (*θυμίαμα*), which Professor Wordsworth remarks, 'agrees with the general conclusion that its use was avoided in the early Church on account of its heathen association,' has been supplied in the later 'Apostolical Constitutions.' This is the passage referred to in the Pfaffian fragment of Irenæus as occurring in the *δεύτεραι τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεις*.

† Cf. Clem. Rom. Ep. i. c. 35: *θυσία αἰνέσεως δοξάσει με. c. 52: θύσον τῷ θεῷ θυσιάν αἰνέσεως*.

‡ 'Notes on the Teaching of the Apostles,' reprinted from 'The Churchman,' p. 8.

The Bishop of Durham draws attention to the 'desultory character' of this document, especially 'in the description of the Eucharistic service, which is plainly fragmentary,' and cautions us how we 'draw inferences from its silence.' But on some points the silence is most eloquent. Certainly no attempt can be more fruitless—though such an attempt has been made—than to deduce from these primitive Eucharistic formularies, probably the earliest existing Christian forms of prayer after the Lord's Prayer, any support for later sacerdotal or sacramental theories. Of such there is not the slightest trace.

The very startling reticence of these devotions as to the death of Christ, and the participation in His Body and Blood, has been accounted for by Professor Wordsworth and others, by the hypothesis that such reference was purposely avoided to obviate 'the well-known misrepresentations of outsiders,' which distorted the words to support the calumny of 'Thyestean banquets' so prevalent and so obstinate among their heathen neighbours. It has been thought possible also that the forms given in the 'Teaching' are not the liturgical prayers proper, such as would be used by the presiding minister, but rather the congregational forms to be joined in by the people (such as those to which Justin refers: 'We all send up prayers in common'); not 'consecration prayers,' but congregational thanksgivings to be learnt by heart for general use, which, to avoid possible scandals if they were divulged to those by whom they would be almost certainly misunderstood, it was thought more prudent to couch in a lower key, without any mention of that Sacrifice which was in the memories and the hearts of all.

Another solution of the difficulty is that these are not in a proper sense, Eucharistic prayers at all; but belong to the Agape, with which the Eucharist was connected, being little more than what, in modern language, we might call 'grace before and after meat.' This idea receives some support from the close correspondence of its phraseology with that of a 'grace before meat' for the use of virgins, found in a treatise at one time attributed to Athanasius.* But the whole context points to the Eucharistic feast as constituting the characteristic service of the Christian Church; nor is there any indication which would warrant our limiting the reference of these prayers to the Agape, for which, indeed, the tone is as much too high as it seems to us too low for the Eucharistic feast.

* Pseudo-Athan., 'De Virginitate,' § 13. Migne, 'Patrol. Græc.' iv. 266.

It must also not be overlooked that the hypothesis that these are merely congregational prayers does no more than remove the difficulty a little further. It can be but little less matter of surprise that the sacramental references we expect in devotions of this character should be absent from the prayers of the people than from those of the ministrant. After all is said, and with every possible deduction, it cannot but remain a fact, deserving careful consideration, that the earliest Eucharistic formularies we possess should wear a character so entirely unlike that of all later Eucharistic formularies. This however is a powerful argument for its authenticity. The very unexpectedness of the character of this liturgy—if liturgy we can call it—is a strong proof of its genuineness, as well as that of the document in which it is preserved. Of that, as has been truly said by the Bishop of Durham—

There can be no shadow of doubt ; no one could or would have forged it. It serves no party interests. It pleases nobody. It is neither sacramentarian nor anti-sacramentarian, neither sacerdotal nor anti-sacerdotal, but both (?) at least in appearance, by turns. We may therefore safely use it as a witness . . . which cannot but reflect fairly well the beliefs and usages of the writer's age and country.

We have already said something of the Church organization described in this document. The importance of the subject, as well as the totally unexpected nature of what the 'Teaching' reveals to us, warrant our returning to it again. The all but demonstrated date of the treatise invests what it tells us on this matter with the highest value. If we place it, as we are warranted in doing, in 'the mysterious period which comprises the last thirty years of the first century, on which history is wholly silent,'* it belongs to the epoch in which resident episcopacy was being developed. But of such episcopacy there is not a trace. The bishop exercising a permanent supervision over an individual congregation is still below the horizon, nor is there yet any indication of his emergence. We see the Church at its point of transition from a missionary to a settled form, and still exhibiting the organization peculiar to each condition ; the itinerant missionary ministry side by side with the localized settled ministry. This is a state of things of which we have hardly any trace after the apostolic times. The Shepherd of Hermas is almost the only document where we find any indication of a similar organization. In that work we have coupled together

* Lightfoot, 'Epistle to the Philippians,' p. 203. Ed. 1868.

‘apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons,’ ‘prophets of God and his ministers (*διάκονοι*), apostles and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God.’* But we look for them in vain in other early writers. In the ‘Teaching,’ as in the Acts and Epistles, we have at the same time itinerant ‘apostles,’ ‘prophets,’ and ‘teachers’ constantly moving from place to place, the latter class having the liberty, if they chose, of settlement and maintenance by the Christian community from the first fruits, and resident ‘bishops (*i. e.*, presbyters) and deacons.’ These itinerant ministers were to be received with the utmost kindness and respect. No one was to presume to judge their utterances lest he should incur the awful guilt of sin against the Holy Ghost. But it was not forbidden to judge their lives or conversation. They were to be known by their fruits. However sound a prophet’s teaching, if his actions were at variance with it, he was to be denounced as a false prophet. All who came in the Lord’s name were to be received as the Lord, and hospitably entertained by the community. At the same time the utmost vigilance was to be exercised against any indications of these itinerant apostles and prophets desiring to make a merchandize of their gifts, and exercising them ‘for filthy lucre’ (1 Peter v. 2). To guard against such ‘Christ-traffickers,’ *χριστέμποροι*, the following rules were laid down:—

And as regards the apostles and prophets according to the decree of the Gospel, so do ye. Let every apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord.† And he shall not remain a single day [only], but if need be a second also; but if he remain three days he is a false prophet. And when the apostle goes forth let him take nothing beyond bread [enough to last him] to his night quarters; but if he ask for money he is a false prophet. Ye shall not try nor test any prophet speaking in the spirit;‡ for every sin shall be forgiven; but this sin shall not be forgiven. . . . But whosoever says, ‘Give me money or other things,’ ye shall not hear him; but if he speak for others in need, that ye should give to them, let no one judge him.

We have a very close parallel to these traders on their spiritual gifts in a very remarkable passage in the Shepherd of Hermas (‘Mandat.’ xi.) The writer there presents us with a graphic picture evidently drawn from the life of one of those itinerant religious charlatans, who, when he comes to an ‘assembly’ of Christians (*συναγωγή*, as in James ii. 2) ‘sets himself up and demands the first place, and is at the same

* Herm., Vis. iii. 5; Sim. ix. 15.

† Cf. Matt. x. 5-12; Luke x. 4-20.

‡ Cf. for the opposite practice: 1 John iv. 1; Rev. ii. 2; 1 Cor. xii. 10.

time audacious and shameless and talkative, and lives in great luxury, and in many other deceits, and takes pay for his prophecy, and refuses to prophesy if he does not get his fee.'

This whole chapter of *Hermas*, one of the most curious and interesting in the 'Shepherd,' is rendered much more intelligible by the light thrown upon it by the 'Teaching.' The two taken together afford valuable illustration of the character and ministry of the prophets of the New Testament; a class of inspired teachers which, till comparatively recent times, has been treated with a neglect by scholars and commentators strangely at variance with the conspicuous place occupied by them in the Acts and the Apostolic Epistles, and their recognized position in the Christian ministry.*

This tendency to abuse prophetic gifts for gain or self-indulgence receives illustration from the charge brought at a later period against Montanus that he 'provided salaries for those who preached his doctrine, so through gluttony the teaching might be strengthened' (Euseb., 'H. E.' v. 18). The caricature of an itinerant Christian teacher drawn by Lucian at a later date in 'Peregrinus' also supplies some points of comparison. He describes him as 'Prophet, Thiasarch and Synagogeus' all in one, living upon the offerings of the faithful, and plentifully supplied with food by those among whom he made his temporary halt.†

A special form of self-seeking is presented by the somewhat obscure passage 'no prophet who in the Spirit orders' (or 'sets') 'a table (*ὀρίζων τράπεζαν*) shall eat thereof; otherwise he is a false prophet.' The brevity of the injunction renders its meaning uncertain, but Bryennios' explanation is probably correct, that it refers to those who in their ecstatic condition commanded that an Agape should be celebrated or a meal provided for the poor, with the intention of enjoying it himself, as we may perceive *Hermas*' 'false prophet,' and Lucian's 'Peregrinus' did.

A still more obscure passage presents itself in the much debated words: 'Every approved genuine prophet who makes assemblies for a worldly mystery (*ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας*), but does not teach others to do what he does shall not be judged by you. For his judgment is in the hands of God; for the ancient prophets also did likewise.' All those who have tried their hands at this passage confess themselves more or less baffled. Bryennios confesses that he

* Cf. Acts xiii. 1; xi. 27; xv. 32; xxi. 9; 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29; xiv. (*passim*); Eph. ii. 20; iii. 5; iv. 11; Rev. ii. 20; xviii. 20.

† Lucian, 'Peregr. Prot.' p. 995. Ed. Par. 1615.

has nothing 'definite and certain' to say of it, and that the passage is 'dark and obscure' (σκοτεινὸν καὶ ἄσαφές) to him. Hilgenfeld can only extract a sense from it by a bold alteration of the text. Harnack, in a lengthy note, from which it is difficult to extract his meaning, tries to twist it into a reference to abstinence from marriage (cf. Eph. v. 32). Bryennios, with sounder judgment, suggests that it refers to some symbolical or dramatic action such as those performed by the Old Testament prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and others, in which things of common life were employed to display the lessons they were charged with. Perhaps the most tenable of the interpretations is that proposed by Mr. Hicks in 'The Guardian,' who would understand the passage of those who called assemblies of the Church for the purpose of giving a revelation by means of prophetic utterance on coming events in the world's history—such as the dearth foretold by Agabus (Acts xi. 28)—especially the impending judgments of God on the enemies of His Church. Such a use of the prophetic gifts was not to be forbidden—the prophet's judgment was with God for the use or abuse of his gift—but it was not to be encouraged. It was not well that he should teach others to do what he did. Not only because it lent itself too readily to passion and prejudice, but also because it might provoke disloyalty to the civil government.

We pass from the prophets to the apostles. Of any special functions belonging to their class there is no mention in the 'Teaching.' They, like the prophets, appear simply as authorized exponents of the Divine will. Their exact position and authority is not easy to determine. It is, however, certain that the term is used in the lower sense in which we find it in some places of the New Testament * as Christian messengers, missionaries as we now call them, moving from place to place to spread the glad tidings of salvation.† Though superior in rank to the prophets, the apostles played a less conspicuous

* *E. g.* Rom. xvi. 7; Phil. ii. 25; 2 Cor. viii. 23; cf. 2 Cor. xi. 13; Rev. ii. 2.

† Of the process by which a prophet or teacher might be set apart to the apostolic office we have a very suggestive notice at the opening of Acts xiii. Barnabas and Saul are first mentioned as among the 'prophets and teachers' of the church at Antioch. A Divine intimation directs that they are to be 'separated' for the higher ministry to which they were called. The hands of the church are laid upon them, and they are sent forth 'by the Holy Spirit' to enter on a course of itinerant missionary labour. It is not till some time after they have entered on this that they first receive the title of 'apostles,' which is thenceforward consistently given them. May we conclude that this rule was generally adopted, and that 'apostles' were, in the primitive church, raised from the lower rank of 'prophets and teachers,' and usually by Divine intimation?

part in the church organization at this time, and were evidently dying out. They are just mentioned at the opening of the portion dealing with church organization in connection with the prophets, from whom indeed they are barely distinguished; strict rules are laid down as to the length of their stay and their provision for the way on leaving, to guard the church against greedy spiritual pretenders; and they pass out of sight altogether. We are evidently at the transition point when the functions of the itinerant apostle, or travelling missionary, were passing away as the church became localized; and though the name and office were still recognized visits from apostles were rapidly becoming less frequent. The apostles had all but disappeared, and the prophets were before long to follow them. The irregular ministry was to be superseded by the regular.

We now proceed to consider the bearing of the 'Teaching' on the canon of Scripture. If in some respects it is less precise and less comprehensive than we might desire, it is, as far as it goes, not the less valuable.

The use of the Old Testament in the 'Teaching' is but small. This is not at all surprising when we take into account the character and purpose of the work. There are only two distinct quotations quite at the close of the work, both from prophetic books. One (c. xvi. 7) is from Zechariah xiv. 5: 'The Lord shall come and all His saints with Him,' an accurate quotation from the LXX. The other (c. xiv. 3), 'In every place and time offer me a pure offering; for I am a great king saith the Lord, and My name is wonderful among the Gentiles,' is a fusion of clauses from two verses of Malachi (i. 11 and 14), neither being perfectly accurate. The Second Table of the Decalogue supplies the groundwork of the prohibitions of ch. ii., the Tenth Commandment however being much shortened and preceding the ninth. We have some interesting reminiscences of Isaiah's language in ch. iii. 7, 'Be thou long suffering . . . and ever *trembling at the words* which thou hast heard,' as compared with Isa. lxvi. 2; and in ch. v. 4, '*lovers of vain things, following after reward*, showing no pity to the poor, not grieving for him who is grieved' compared with Isa. i. 23. The counsel 'give by thy hands a ransom for thy sins' (ch. iv. 4), recalls Daniel's advice to Nebuchadnezzar Dan. iv. 24.

There is much in the pure moral teaching of this work which reminds us of the nobler parts of the apocryphal books, in this supplying us with another point of resemblance to the

Epistle of St. James. We may particularly compare c. iii. with the counsels of Tobias to his son (Tobit iv.), 'Whatsoever thou wouldest not to be done to thee do not thou to another.' Chap. i. 2 has also a close correspondence to Tobit iv. 15, 'What thou hatest thyself do thou to no man,' quoted as 'scripture' by Clement of Alexandria ('Strom.' ii. p. 421). The resemblance between chap. iv. 5, 'Be not thou one who *stretches out* his hands for receiving, but clenches them tight for giving,' and Ecclesiasticus iv. 31, 'Let not thy *hand be stretched out* for receiving, but clenched together in giving,' is too close to be accidental. A close comparison will discover other proofs that the mind of the writer of the 'Teaching' was saturated with the latter so-called 'Sapiential' Jewish literature, which affords another evidence of its Hebraistic origin.

It is in its relation to the canon of the New Testament that the chief interest of this inquiry lies. What, then, we may ask, is the testimony it bears as to the genuineness and authenticity of the Books which constitute our canon? 'Here,' remarks the Bishop of Durham, 'its answer is unexpectedly full. We have already seen that the 'Gospel of the Lord,' τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ κυρίου, is appealed to as the rule of faith and practice. What are we to understand by the 'gospel'? Was it one book, or a collection of books? And if one, with which, if any, of the existing four Gospels is it to be identified? We may reply that the word 'Gospel' was a collective term not necessarily restricted to any one book, but—as the received titles, 'The Gospel *according to* St. Matthew,' '*according to* St. Mark,' &c., indicate—denoting the record of the words and works of Christ which, originally oral, was gradually fashioned by different writers, under Divine guidance, into what are known as the Synoptic Gospels. The oral gospel as shaped in writing not spreading everywhere and at the same time, these separate Gospels would necessarily only become gradually known to the Church. The references to the evangelical facts and discourses in the early Fathers are almost uniformly anonymous; made to 'the Gospel' simply. As Dr. Westcott has observed, reference to the sayings and actions of our Lord in the sub-apostolic age must not be regarded as proving that our Gospels were already in use and were the source of the passages quoted. He says, 'the testimony of the Apostolic Fathers is to the substance and not to the authenticity of the Gospels.' The reference is to 'tradition' rather than 'to any written 'accounts.'* It is with the utmost

* Westcott's 'Hist. of Canon,' p. 60, ed. 1855.

diffidence that we venture to dissent from any conclusion of the calm-judging and profoundly learned Bishop of Durham. He has expressed his belief that 'the writer of the Teaching quotes large portions of St. Matthew.' Certainly the correspondences with that Gospel are remarkably copious. The character of the work precludes any appeal to the historical events of our Lord's life, or any reference to His parables. The quotations are, with slight exceptions, limited to the Sermon on the Mount and the Discourse of the Last Things ; and that, too, without any indication of their source, or indeed any intimation (beyond the title of the work) that they are the words of Christ. Here the likeness to St. Matthew is very great. The language is to a large extent identical. It is not surprising, therefore, that these passages should be regarded as direct quotations from that Gospel ; or, as Harnack suggests, from a Gospel of St. Matthew, enriched from that of St. Luke.* We believe, however, that there is no sure ground for concluding that the writer had seen and used any one of the written Gospels. The divergences are hardly less remarkable than the correspondences. Both, we think, may be explained by the Evangelists and the writer of the 'Teaching' having drawn from a common source the words of the Divine Teacher. That source was almost certainly an oral one. The intertexture of words, the change of order, the transposition of clauses, and the verbal echoes where the context is different, which characterise the quotations of the 'Teachings,' are such as would be natural in a writer repeating from memory what he had heard and learnt, and point to a period of transition from an oral to a written Gospel, such as was the age in which, we believe, the 'Teaching' assumed its present form.

We have ample proof that at the time of the drawing up of the 'Teaching' the words of Christ were very familiar both to the teacher and to the taught, though employed often in a different context, as an universally received authority. Thus we have, 'The meek shall inherit the earth' (c. iii. 7) ; 'He shall not come out thence till he has paid the uttermost farthing' (c. i. 5) ; 'Give not that which is holy to the dogs,' in reference to the Eucharist (c. ix. 5). Other less distinct echoes are found in, 'Whatsoever thou wouldest not to be done to thee, do not thou to another,' c. i. 2, compared with Matt. vii. 12 ; 'Thy word shall not be false,' c. ii. 2,

* It is hardly necessary to state that this Gospel, which Harnack* is disposed to identify with that 'According to the Egyptians,' is entirely a creation of Harnack's own inner consciousness.

compared with Matt. v. 37 ; 'The Father willeth that from His free-gifts gifts should be bestowed on all,' c. i. 5 compared with Matt. v. 45. It will be observed that these correspondences are drawn from St. Matthew alone. We must add that the Lord's Prayer is given almost exactly as it stands in Matt. vi. 9-13, and that the baptismal formula is identical with that of Matt. xxviii. 19. If, therefore, any one of the four Gospels was laid under contribution, it was St. Matthew. It does not, however, necessarily follow that the writer had this Gospel before him. It would be enough that the source from which each drew was the same. The same may be said of the parallels with St. Luke.

We pass now to the Fourth Gospel. Does the 'Teaching' supply any clear evidence of its being known to those by whom this manual was used? Such evidence, it need hardly be said, considering the early date to which this treatise may be safely assigned, would be of the highest value. We do not however think that any direct evidence of this kind is contained in it. The only portions in which there is any trace of the line of thought or phraseology with which we are familiar in St. John's writings are the Eucharistic devotions. These, it is clear, have an entirely different origin from the rest of the 'Teaching.' We may regard them as prayers already in common use, and therefore of earlier date than the document itself, inserted in this manual by the compiler. Now, the tone of these prayers is unmistakably Johannine. We cannot read them without being reminded of the words of Christ as recorded by St. John. The differences, it is true, are great. Leading conceptions in St. John are entirely wanting here. Words and terms are used which do not occur in the Gospel. Still as we read we feel that we are breathing a Johannine atmosphere, and that we are approaching the truths of revelation from the same quarter. When we find God addressed in what Dr. Westcott calls 'the unique phrase' 'Holy Father' (cf. John xvii. 11), and 'the Holy Vine of David' used in connection with our Lord (cf. xv. 1), and remark the emphasis laid on the 'Holy Name,' as the perfect expression of what God is, being 'made to tabernacle' in the hearts of the faithful, whereby 'immortality' has been made known to them; and see 'eternal life' at one time connected (as in John vi.) with the spiritual food and drink imparted to them through Jesus, and at another (as in John xvii. 3) with the knowledge He had come to bring; and read the petitions for the Church, that it might be delivered from evil (cf. John xvii. 15) and sanctified (xvii. 17), and perfected in love (xvii.

23 ; 1 John iv. 18), and for its unity in the heavenly kingdom (xvii. 21-24), we cannot but feel that the inner relationship of these prayers with St. John's teaching is unquestionable ; and that even if the resemblances are not strong enough to allow us to conclude that the written Gospel was the source whence they were derived, it is perfectly certain that they must have had their origin in a community perfectly familiar with St. John's teaching as we have it in the Gospel.

Of the other books of the New Testament the 'Teaching' supplies no quotations, nor are there any certain references to them. Though there are several passages which remind us of St. Paul's Epistles the resemblance is too vague to build upon, while the words they have in common are not characteristic enough to warrant the supposition of borrowing. Even if it were certain that 1 Thess. v. 22, 'abstain from *all appearance of evil*,' was correctly translated, the precept, 'My son, fly from every evil and *from everything like it*,' is too general in itself and not sufficiently close in language for us to lay any stress on the similarity. The same may be said of the precept, 'If any craftsman desires to settle among you, *let him work and eat*,' compared with 2 Thess. iii. 12, 'that with quietness they *work*, and *eat* their own bread.' The resemblance of the precepts for the bringing up of children, and the mutual relations of masters and slaves, is also too general to be pressed. The phrase, 'abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts,' does certainly look like a fusion of 1 Peter ii. 11 and Titus ii. 12 ; but the counsel is an obvious one from a Christian teacher. The closest parallel between the 'Teaching' and St. Paul is in ch. iv. 5, where the writer, speaking of the duty of sharing one's goods with our brother, says, 'for if ye are partners in that which is immortal, how much more in mortal things.' This reminds us of Rom. xv. 27, 'For if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister to them in carnal things.' A likeness of thought there certainly is, but not close enough to build upon. The preceding injunction 'not to call anything our own (*οὐκ ἐπεὶς ἰδία εἶναι*) by which our brother may be benefited' affords a verbal parallel with Acts iv. 32. In addition to the exhortation to 'abstain from fleshly lusts,' the clause in the post-communion prayer, 'let grace come, and let this world pass away,' supplies a parallel to the words of St. Peter relating to 'the grace that is to be brought at the revelation of Jesus Christ' (1 Pet. i. 13). The word *πύρωσις* is also common to the two, ch. xvi. 5, 1 Pet. iv. 12. Some not very usual

words sound like echoes of 2 Pet. ii. and Jude, ἀνθαδής 2 Pet. ii. 10, κυριότης, *ibid.* Jude 8; καταπονούμενος 2 Pet. ii. 7; γόγγυσος Jude 16, γογγυσταί.

Two or three passages recall the Epistle to the Hebrews, but they are rather natural correspondences of thought than quotations. The warning 'not to come to the prayer in an *evil conscience*' resembles 'Let us draw near . . . with our hearts sprinkled from an *evil conscience*' (Heb. x. 29). The charge to '*remember them that speak to thee the word of God*' looks rather like an echo of Heb. xiii. 7, '*Remember them . . . that speak to you the word of God*;' while the exhortation to prepare for the unknown day of the Lord's coming by '*frequent assembling of themselves together*,' has a close parallel in Heb. x. 25, 'not forsaking the *assembling of themselves together* . . . and so much the more as ye see the day approaching.'

The conclusion, then, is that in the 'Teaching' we have a work anterior to the formation of the New Testament canon. It is possible that the writer may have been acquainted with the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, but the probability is that the only Gospel known to him was a form of the oral tradition having great affinity to that of St. Matthew and some resemblance to that of St. Luke. There is no reason to believe that he had any knowledge of the Gospel of St. John, but it is certain that the Eucharistic prayers sprang from a quarter where the apostle's influence was largely felt. The indications of acquaintance with the other books of the canon are altogether too slight to build upon. The similarities of St. Peter and St. Jude are only verbal. If one or two verbal correspondences also suggest a knowledge of St. Paul's Epistles, the idea seems to be negatived by the complete ignorance displayed of any part of the apostle's doctrinal teaching. If any faint echoes of his words had reached the writer's ears, that was all.

In conclusion let us say that we regard the 'Teaching of the Apostles' as supplying the most remarkable addition to our knowledge of the Church of the subapostolic age which has been made since the publication of the *editio princeps* of St. Clement in 1633, the value of which cannot be too highly estimated. If its revelations are startling and unexpected, such as are calculated to disturb preconceived views on some points of considerable importance, it all the more deserves and we are sure will receive, patient investigation and unprejudiced consideration from all who deserve the name of theologians and scholars. If it should turn out that it will compel us to give up some cherished convictions and accept

some unwelcome conclusions, we may be thankful to be delivered from error, even at the cost of some pain. The full bearing of the discovery is as yet by no means fully appreciated. Much has yet to be done in studying it in connection with the remains of the contemporary Christian literature, scanty and fragmentary, alas! but still most precious. Till this has been done by some competent scholar—may we again venture to express the hope that the Bishop of Durham will undertake the work for which he is so supereminently qualified?—all definite conclusions will be premature, savouring of rashness rather than of the calmness which is the proper attitude of theological students. We cannot close this article more appropriately than with the quotation from Clement of Alexandria, placed by Briennios on his title-page: 'We must not, because of the speaker, ignorantly condemn beforehand the things spoken . . . but we must examine the things which are spoken, whether they belong to the truth.' Ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὀλεσσον.

E. V.

E. Venables

WE are interested in the use which *The Living Church* (Protestant Episcopal) makes of the "Teaching of the Apostles." *The Evangelist* had said that the newly-discovered document does not support the theory of Apostolical Succession. *The Living Church* admits that there were no diocesan bishops in the first centuries, but contends that there were bishops corresponding to missionary bishops of the present time, and asserts that the apostles of the first three centuries were either active missionary bishops or bishops in charge of single city congregations, with elders and deacons working under them. We do not so understand the "Teaching." There is plainly a distinction observed in the use of the terms "apostles," "prophets," and "bishops." *The Living Church* assumes that, in the direction concerning the first fruits, the term "prophets," is a synonym for "apostles." We do not so understand it. All apostles, or wandering evangelists, were prophets—that is, were inspired to teach, had the *charisma*; but not all prophets were apostles. Apostles are always referred to as wanderers, and the sign of their genuineness was that they would not remain in one place longer than one day, or, at the most, three days. The prophets, however, were local teachers. "Every true prophet who will settle among you is worthy of his support." Some congregations had no prophet. "But if ye have no prophet," etc. That bishops were not considered as either

"apostles" or "prophets" is evident from the construction of chapter xv. Says *The Living Church*: "Apostolic overseers always have been in the Church, and these became diocesan bishops as soon as there were or could be territorial dioceses." If it be true that those called apostles by the "Teaching" discharged the function of missionary bishops it is very strange that Christian communities were enjoined to "appoint" for themselves "bishops and deacons"; "for they, too," it is added, "render you the service of the prophets and teachers." If the apostles, as successors of the Twelve, were discharging the functions of missionary bishops, why this injunction to choose other bishops? And if the apostles were acting as bishops, and governing the Church as the successors of the Twelve, why should the congregations be enjoined not to "despise" the "bishops" they were urged to appoint? "Despise them not, therefore; for they are the ones who are honored of you, together with the prophets and teachers." *The Living Church* declares that, if the apostles "were not an order in the Church, there was no ministry at all." We should infer from the "Teaching" that, ecclesiastically, the "apostles" therein referred to left no successors, but gradually diminished, and finally disappeared, the office of the local bishops having meantime grown in power and importance, in the end developing the diocesan episcopacy.

A PASSAGE IN THE "TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES."

BY PROF. S. STANHOPE ORRIS.

THE first chapter of the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" closes with the sentence: "Let thine alms sweat in thy hands until thou know to whom to give." The language of this sentence is, of course, not found in the Scriptures, nor in the Apocrypha, nor in the Rabbinical writings, nor in the writings of the Fathers of the Church; and the limitation which it puts on almsgiving is one which some of the Fathers of the Church regarded as incompatible with the precept to "give to every one that asketh."

To the query, "Some say that we should not give alms without examination, but should inquire carefully whether he who asks is really in need," Athanasius is said to have replied: "So those who think evil pervert the other Scriptures also. For if we are first to examine those who ask, why does the Lord say, 'Give to every one that asketh thee'?"*

In an application of the text, "He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust," Chrysostom says: "And do thou, when thou doest alms, not examine the life, nor demand an account of the character. . . . Eleēmosyna is so called that we may give even to the unworthy. For he who pities, pities not the upright but the sinner."†

Jerome says, "We must give to every one that asketh, and must give without discrimination," adding that: "He who carefully inquires to whom he shall give and does not give to every one that asketh, often omits him who deserves to receive."‡

Others teach discrimination in giving. Basil the Great says that: "We should give to him that asketh, but should determine the need of each of those who ask."§

Clemens Alexandrinus says that the perfect Christian "doubtless relieves the afflicted, helping him with consolations, giving to all that need, but not similarly, but justly, according to desert; and besides, to him also who persecutes and hates, if he should need it. For, how much more are they who, while hating evil, are generous toward their enemies, animated with love toward those who belong to them! Hence such a man will come to know with accuracy to whom pre-eminently, and how much, and when, and in what way he should give."||

Bryennios thinks that the Shepherd of Hermas manifestly teaches the same as the Didachē in reference to the manner and spirit of giving. But this opinion, as we shall see, is incorrect. The Shepherd of Hermas says: "Do good, and from the labors which God giveth thee, give in

simplicity to all that are in want, not doubting to whom to give or to whom not to give. Give to all. For to all God wills that there be given of his own gifts. They, then, that receive shall give account to God wherefore they received and why; for they that receive in affliction shall not be judged, but they that receive in hypocrisy shall pay the penalty. He, then, that giveth is guiltless; for, as he received his ministry from the Lord to perform it in simplicity, so he performed it, without discriminating to whom to give or not to give. His ministry, then, having been performed in simplicity, is in honor with God. Accordingly he who ministers thus in simplicity shall live to God."*

Observe that those who here receive or may receive, in hypocrisy, are among the number of those who are assumed to be in want. And, therefore, "All that are in want," as the phrase is here employed, is equivalent to "all that profess to be in want," whether this profession be explicit or implicit. So that the injunction of Hermas is to give to all that profess to be in want, and to give in simplicity, without doubting and without discriminating.

The doctrine on this subject in the Epistle of Barnabas is less explicit, but equally simple: "Thou shalt not hesitate to give; nor, when giving, shalt thou murmur; give to every one that asketh thee, and thou shalt know who is the good Rewarder of the gift."†

The Apostolic Constitutions teach that "it is our duty to do good to all men without making nice distinctions between them. For the Lord says: 'Give to every one that asketh thee.' It is evident, however, that we are to give to him who is really in want, whether he be friend or foe, whether he be a kinsman or a stranger."‡

The Shepherd of Hermas says that those who receive in hypocrisy shall give account to God; in the "Teaching" the impression naturally made is that they shall give account to man; and they shall give account, first, for their motive in receiving, and second, for what they receive, and shall be held in custody until they have given back the last farthing. Hermas says, give to every one that professeth to be in want; that is, to every one that asketh thee; and give in simplicity, without doubting and without discriminating. The "Teaching" says, Give to every one that asketh thee, provided he be in real need; and, therefore, do not give in simplicity, without hesitating and without discriminating; but let thine alms sweat in thy hands until thou know who is indeed in want.

The "Teaching," it will be observed, enjoins a carefulness in giving, which some regarded as a perversion of the Scriptures; a carefulness in giving, which is not enjoined in the Epistle of Barnabas, nor in the Shepherd of Hermas, nor in the Apostolic Constitutions. And this is remarkable, if the Epistle of Barnabas and the

* "Athanasii Opera," Ed. Migne. Vol. IV, p. 650.

† "Chrysostomi Opera," Ed. Migne. Vol. III, p. 287.

‡ "Hieronymi Opera," Ed. Migne, lib. III, p. 1156.

§ "Basilii Opera," Ed. Benedictine. Vol. III, p. 711.

|| "Clementis Alex." Ed. Migne. Strom. VII, cap 12.

* "Hermæ Pastor." Mand. I.

† "Barnabæ Epistola." Cap. xix.

‡ "Constitutiones Apostolicæ." Lib. III, cap 4.

Shepherd of Hermas are sources of the Didaché. And it is no less remarkable, if, like the Apostolic Constitutions, they are later than the "Teaching," and indebted to it.

Is the sentence, "Let thine alms sweat in thy hands," etc., genuine? Or was it inserted at a late date, and was the preceding sentence then modified, both in thought and style, in order that the whole sentence might have the appearance of antiquity? The preceding sentence contains the words *δώσει δίκην ἑαυτί*, etc. The usual technical meaning of the phrase *διδόναι δίκην* is "to give satisfaction," "to pay the penalty," "to suffer punishment." But it cannot have that meaning here; for we cannot say that a man shall be punished *with reference* to his motive. The translation, "he shall give account," makes good sense, but is without authority. The intransitive verb "to account," means, according to "Webster," 1, to render an account or relation of particulars; 2, to give a reason; 3, to answer for in reckoning or judgment. In classic Greek, the first is *διδόναι εὐθύνας*; the second, *διδόναι λόγον*; and in Hellenistic Greek, the third is *ἀποδιδόναι λόγον*. But never, in classic, Hellenistic, Byzantine, or modern Greek, does the phrase *διδόναι δίκην* mean "to give account." If it meant this, it would convey the additional idea of a *satisfactory* account, a meaning which it cannot have in this passage. It must, therefore, mean "to submit to trial." But why this classic phrase in this rare sense, and not *κριθήσεται*, or *δικασθήσεται*, or *ἀποδώσει λόγον*? And why does the whole sentence, in the original, differ so in respect of simplicity and clearness from what is said in relation to giving in the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Apostolic Constitutions? In the following sentence, *ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὴ εἴρηται, ἰδρωσάτω*, etc., there is obscurity. Some refer the *τούτου* to the precept, "Give to every one"; others refer it to the case of the man who asked and received when he had no need. According to the first view, the *καὶ* (which modifies, not the following verb, but the phrase *περὶ τούτου*) is translated *also*; according to the second view, it is translated *even*. It is further noteworthy that there were two verbal mistakes in this sentence in the manuscript found by Bryennios, *ιδρωτάτω* for *ιδρωσάτω*, and *δε* for *δη*.

If the language, "Let thine alms sweat in thy hands until thou know to whom to give," were meant to express, not the doctrine of the apostles, but that of a teacher who differed from them on the subject of giving, it should have no place in the "Teaching," which professes to be the "Teaching of the Apostles" and not that of others.

It is needless to say that the verb *ιδρωσάτω* is radically the same in four members of the Indo-European family of languages, and has radically the same meaning in them all—viz., the meaning "to sweat." And the proposed substi-

tution by Hilgenfeld of *ιδρυσάτω* for *ιδρωσάτω* does not materially affect the meaning of the sentence; for the *ἀλλά*, which introduces the sentence, introduces a thought adversative to the unqualified precept "to give to every one that asketh." And the meaning, in effect, is: Give to every one that asketh; but even in view of the fact that some ask and receive who have no need, wait until you are sure that he who asks is in need, and that you are right in giving. This is correct doctrine, as far as it goes; but it is a doctrine in advance of that held by the Church on this subject at the time when the "Teaching" was written.

PRINCETON COLLEGE.

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. May 7th

BY PROF. S. STANHOPE ORRIS 1885.

THE translations that appeared a year ago of the words *σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος* in the last chapter of the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," all differed from each other, and no one of them was felt to be in all respects satisfactory. Harnack said that he did not understand the words, and so left them untranslated. In the *Andover Review* they were rendered: "Shall be saved by Him the Curse." To say no more, there is nothing in the contextual relations, and nothing in the known use of the particular word *κατάθεμα* to justify this translation.

Hitchcock and Brown's translation was: "Shall be saved from this curse."

The radical meaning of *ὑπό* is *under*; and, of course, the preposition *from*, when used in a local sense or in a sense analogous to the local, is not equivalent to the preposition *under*, when used in a local sense or in a sense analogous to the local. Neither is the demonstrative pronoun *this* equivalent to the intensive *αὐτοῦ*.

Another translation was: "Shall be saved from under the curse itself." The idea expressed by *from* is not contained in *ὑπό*, but is suggested by the relation of the genitive *αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος* to the motion or action of the verb as qualified by *ὑπό*. The student of Homer is familiar with this rendering of *ὑπό* in connection with the genitive after a certain class of verbs. For instance, "Iliad" xiii, 198: *ὥστε δὴ αἶψα λέοντες κυνῶν ὑπο καρχαροδόντων ἀρπάξαντες*—"as two lions, having snatched a goat from under the sharp-toothed dogs." And xvii, 235: *νεκρὸν ὑπ' Αἴαντος ἐρύειν*—"to drag the corpse from under Ajax."

These translations, the last of which expressed my own understanding of the words a year ago, all assume that *σωθήσονται* involves the idea of delivering, of rescuing.

In classic Greek, one of the first meanings of *σώζω* is *to preserve, protect, keep safe*. For in-

stance, Demosthenes, speaking of a common safeguard against tyrants, which the nature of sensible men possesses in itself, says to his hearers: "If you *preserve* this (ἐὰν ταύτην σώζητε), you can suffer no harm." And Thucydides reports Themistocles as saying that "Athens was surrounded by walls, and so was able to *protect* her citizens" (σώζειν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας).

In the New Testament Greek, σώζω frequently, if not generally, involves the idea of deliverance, of rescue. And, hence, the verb *to save*, by which it is nearly always rendered in the English version, involves, no less frequently, the like idea. As in the following passages: "He shall *save** his people from their sins." "Save thyself and come down from the cross." "Thy faith hath *saved* thee." "The prayer of faith shall *save* him that is sick."

But while σώζω is often used in this sense in the New Testament, there are passages in which it has the other meaning—that of *preserving*. As in Mark viii, 35: "Whosoever will *save* (σῶσαι) his life, shall lose it." Here, as σῶσαι and the verb *to lose* are antithetic, σῶσαι means, not to rescue, to deliver, but to preserve, to keep. And in II Tim. iv, 18: "The Lord will deliver me from every evil work, and will *save* (σώσει) me unto his heavenly kingdom, σώσει involves the idea of preservation.

And now the question is, in which of these two senses—to deliver or to preserve—σωθήσονται is used in the last chapter of the "Teaching." If in the former sense, then the third translation is correct, viz.: While many shall perish in the fiery trial, "they who endure in their faith shall be delivered from beneath the curse itself." But why is it said that they shall be delivered from beneath, not the curse, but the curse αὐτοῦ, the curse *itself*? Drs. Hitchcock and

Brown evidently saw a difficulty here a year ago, when they rendered the intensive pronoun as though it were not αὐτοῦ, but τούτου. And their present rendering of it is "even this," as though it were not αὐτοῦ, but καὶ τούτου. However, as the words "even this" are a mistranslation of αὐτοῦ, so they express a thought that is not contained in the original.

Since, then, when we understand σωθήσονται as expressing deliverance, it is difficult, if not impossible, to see a satisfactory reason for the presence of αὐτοῦ in the text, let us understand the verb as expressing preservation, and then the translation will be: While many shall perish in the fiery trial, "they who endure in their faith 'shall be preserved beneath the very curse'; that is, the trial when it is at its uttermost. "And then," when they have been preserved even in the extreme of the trial, then "shall appear the signs of the truth; first the sign of an opening in heaven, then the sign of a sound of a trumpet, and third, the resurrection of the dead; not of all, however, but as was said: The Lord shall come and all the saints with him. Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven."

To this translation of the words there is, there can be, no objection on grammatical grounds; and in respect to doctrine it is in harmony with the promise made to believers in like circumstances, Luke xxi, 18: "Not a hair of your head shall perish."

I may add that, in the light of this rendering of the passage, the last chapter of the "Teaching" favors the opinion that the trial will continue until the appearance of the signs of the truth and the coming of the Lord upon the clouds of heaven.

PRINCETON COLLEGE.

*The First Announcement to America
The Independent Feb 28 (sic) 1884*

A GREAT DISCOVERY IN APOSTOLIC CHURCH HISTORY.

In the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig, 1884, No. 3, Prof. Adolph Harnack, of Giessen, gives an interesting account of the Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων ("Teaching of the Apostles") which has just been published by the learned metropolitan bishop of Nicomedia, Philotheos Bryennios. It is a pleasant surprise for students of Church history to receive a new document from the second century. The name of the book was known. Clement, of Alexandria, quotes it as "Scripture"; Eusebius places it beside the "Shepherd," the "Apocalypse of Peter," and the "Epistle of Barnabas"; and Athanasius

regards it, not, it is true, as a canonical, but as one of the books appointed to be read by catechumens. In the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus it stands between the gospel of Thomas and the epistles of Clement. Moreover, we had the first six chapters of the book (the whole book is about as long as the epistle to the Galatians), for the most part in the moral teachings in Barnabas, in the "Constitutions" and "Didaskalia" and in the "Ἐπιτομὴ ὅρων"; but these ordinances become of an entirely new value when we find them in this work, the great age of which can be proved. The second part—Chapters vii—xvi—is essentially new, although the seventh book of the "Constitutions" proves to be a recasting and, so to

speaking, modernizing of it.

This book, then, is laid before us by Bryennios, edited with great care. Its genuineness Harnack acknowledges to have been proved by the editor. The trifling external fact is noteworthy that the stichometry of Nicephorus gives 200 as the number of lines and in the manuscript discovered it has 203. In Harnack's opinion, even the "Shepherd of Hermas" can hardly compete with the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" in antiquity, and it belongs in one class with the oldest documents we possess from the Gentile Church. The peculiarity of the book is increased by the fact that it is the oldest book of Church order that is known. It throws light on points in the epistle to the Ephesians, in Acts, in the first epistle of Clement, in Hermas, and in Lucian's "Peregrinus." Harnack leaves the date for the moment open; but, whatever place may be assigned to it between 100 and 160, it places the Church before us at a period of which we know very little. It may have been written in Syria or Egypt. It will have to be our guide in the future in our treatment of "apostles," "prophets," "teachers," bishops and deacons. The title "apostles" is used exclusively in the sense of wandering evangelists; presbyters are not mentioned at all. It is a first-class document for the history of the constitution of the Church and for the history of worship.

The fact is that in the "Teaching" we have the beginning of the entire body of literature in the ancient Oriental Church, which refers to Church order or constitutions; and that it makes clear much that was doubtful before. For example, to recur to the seventh book of the "Constitutions" mentioned above, the "Teaching" bears about the same relation to it that the shorter Ignatian epistles do to the longer. The reviser modernized the old book, put "priests" for "prophets," put "presbyters" in, smoothed down the eschatology and thinned out the prayers.

Bryennios shows how his new volume confirms a conjecture of Prof. Gustav Bickell's, and an assertion of Harnack's with reference to the "Ἐπιτομή ὅρων." Bickell, and after him Dr. Oscar Von Gebhardt, had pointed to some older book now lost as the true basis of the "Constitutions," Book VII, and of the "Epitome"; and here we have that older book. Besides, Harnack had insisted upon it that the "Epitome," as it was, could not be of the second century, but must be later than the "Con-

stitutions"; and Bryennios supports this.

Harnack translates the larger and more interesting part of the book into German, and, the original having not yet reached us, we translate from Harnack's advance sheets just received: (*after Harnack's German, in 8th ed., 1890.*)

“Διδαχὴ τῶν ἑβδ. ἀποστόλων, chapters vii—xvi.

“7. But as to baptism, baptize thus: Baptize after thou hast imparted all the above doctrines [the moral teachings of chapters i—vi], in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, in flowing water. If, however, thou hast no flowing water, then baptize with other water; if there be no cold at hand, with warm. But if thou hast neither, then sprinkle the head three times with water in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. But before the baptism, the baptizer and the baptized are to fast. . . . Thou shalt command the baptized to fast a day or two beforehand.

“8. Your fasts are not to be ordered like those of the hypocrites; for these fast on Monday and Thursday. Ye however shall fast on Wednesday and Friday. Neither shall ye pray like the hypocrites, but pray as the Lord has commanded in his Gospel: 'Our Father, etc.' Three times a day shall ye pray thus.

“9. As for the eucharist, ye shall give thanks: First in reference to the cup: 'We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of thy child David, which thou hast revealed to us through thy child Jesus. Honor be to Thee to eternity.' In reference to the broken bread, however: 'We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and the knowledge which thou hast declared unto us through thy child Jesus. Honor be to Thee to eternity. As this broken bread was strewn upon the hills [that is as grain] and brought together and became one, so may Thy church be brought together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom; for Thine is the honor and power through Jesus Christ to eternity.' Let no one, however, eat or drink of your eucharist except those baptized in the name of the Lord; for in reference to this the Lord said: Ye shall not give that which is holy to the dogs.

“10. After ye have eaten, ye shall give thanks thus: 'We thank Thee, Holy Father, for Thy holy name, for which Thou has prepared a dwelling in our hearts, and for the knowledge, and the belief, and the immortality, which Thou hast made known to us through thy child Jesus; to Thee be honor in eternity. Thou, Almighty Lord, hast created all for Thy name's sake; food and drink Thou hast given to men for their use, that they may thank Thee; but upon us Thou hast graciously bestowed spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy child. Above all we thank Thee because Thou art mighty. To Thee be honor to eternity. Remember, Lord, Thy church, to lead her forth out of all evil, and to perfect her in Thy love; gather her together from the four winds, her, the consecrated one into Thy kingdom, which Thou hast prepared

for her. Thine is the power and the honor to eternity. Let grace come and let this world vanish away. Hosanna to the Son of David! Let him that is holy, come forward; let him that is not, repent. Maranatha. Amen.' But permit the prophets to say thanks, as much as they please.

"11. Whosoever now comes [to you] and teaches you all this that has just been said, him receive. If however the teacher himself teaches in perverseness another doctrine, so that he annuls the above, hear ye him not; but if he teaches so that he increases righteousness and the knowledge of the Lord, then receive him as the Lord.

"In reference to the apostles and prophets moreover ye shall proceed as follows, according to the directions of the gospel: Let every apostle, who comes to you, be received as the Lord. He will not remain longer than a day, or if necessary a second day; if he remains three days he is a false prophet. When the apostle goes away again, let him take nothing with him but bread enough for a day; if he asks for money, he is a false prophet. And every prophet that speaks 'in the Spirit,' him ye shall neither examine nor condemn; for every sin is forgiven; but this sin is not forgiven. But not every one that speaks 'in the Spirit,' is a prophet, but only he who shows the behavior of the Lord. By his behavior therefore the false prophet and the prophet can be recognized. No prophet [speaking] 'in the Spirit' orders a meal and eats of the same, unless he is a false prophet. Every prophet moreover who teaches the truth, is a false prophet if he does not do what he teaches. But every prophet, proven and true, who performs an action to symbolize the mystery of the church in the world, but at the same time does not teach [others] to do what he himself does, he shall not be judged by you; for his judgment is with God; for even thus did the ancient prophets act. But whosoever says 'in the Spirit,' Give me money or something else, him hear ye not; if however he speaks of gifts in reference to others who are in need, then no one shall judge him.

"12. Every one that cometh in the name of the Lord, let him be received; but then ye shall examine him and learn what his case may be, for ye should have the power of distinguishing between the good and the evil. If the new comer is a wanderer help him as much as ye can. He will however not stay with you, unless it be for two or three days, if it be necessary. But if he wishes to take up his abode among you as a workman, then he is to work and eat. If however he has learned no trade, then ye shall according to your intelligent perception [of the case] see to it that no one without occupation live with you as a Christian. If he will not agree to this, then he is one who puts Christ out at usury. Hold yourselves aloof from such.

"13. Every true prophet, however, who desires to establish himself among you, is worthy of his support. Likewise, also, is a true teacher as a workman, worthy of his support. All the firstlings of the products of thy wine-press and

threshing floor, of thy cattle and sheep shalt thou take and give to the prophet, for they are your high priests. But if ye have no prophet [among you], then give it to the poor. When thou makest a batch of dough, take the first of it and give it according to the ordinance. So likewise when thou openest a vessel of wine or oil, take the first of it and give it to the prophet. Take also the firstlings of gold and clothes and of every possession according to thy discretion and give them according to the ordinance.

"14. On the Lord's day ye shall gather yourselves together and break the bread and say thanks, after ye have confessed your misdeeds, in order that your offering may be clean. Let no one who is at odds with his friend, assemble with you, before they have become at one with each other, in order that your offering may not be profaned. This is what the word spoken by the Lord has reference to: 'In every place and at every time shall they offer me a pure offering. For I am a great king, saith the Lord and my name is wonderful among the nations.'

"15. Choose for yourselves, besides, bishops and deacons, who are worthy of the Lord, gentle and not miserly, and upright and proven men; for they perform also for you the service of the prophets and teachers. Despise them not, therefore, for they are your honored men [this passage is not perfectly clear] with the prophets and teachers. Convince one another not in anger but in peace, as ye find it in the Gospel, and if a man have injured his neighbor, let no one speak to him, nor let him hear a word from you until he has changed his mind. But your prayers and your alms and all that ye do, so do it as ye find it in the Gospel of our Lord.

"16. Watch over your life; your lamps shall not go out and your loins shall not become slack; but be ready, for ye know not the hour in which our Lord cometh. Ye shall moreover assemble yourselves together often, and seek after that which your souls need; for the whole [past] time of your belief will not be of the least use to you, if ye have not grown perfect in the last time. For in the last days the false prophets and the corrupters will increase and the sheep shall turn themselves into wolves and love will turn to hatred; for when unrighteousness assumes sway, they will hate and persecute and deliver up one another, and then the deceiver of the world will appear, as if he were the Son of God, and will do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands, and he will do wickedness such as has never been, since the beginning of time. Then will the creation of men [that is *all men*] come into the fire of proving and many will take offense and be lost. Those however who continue firm in their belief will be saved [here follows a doubtful clause]. And then the signs of the truth will appear: first the sign that the heaven opens, then the sign of the trumpet blast, and, third, the resurrection of the dead, yet not of all, but as is said: 'The Lord will come and all the saints

with him.' Then will the world see the Lord come upon the clouds of Heaven."

Thus far the "Teaching." Look around at the Christian Church, at your own particular church and congregation, and see how much can still be found of the simplicity in thought, in order, in worship, in life, which breathes in every line of this book.

THE BRYENNIOS MANUSCRIPT.

THROUGH the kindness of the librarian of the Union Theological Seminary, N. Y., we have been permitted to examine the first copy of the work of Bryennios which has reached the metropolis. The title (as we translated it) is: "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, now published for the first time from the Jerusalem Codex, with prolegomena and notes, together with a collation of the synopsis of the Old Testament, by John Chrysostom, and an unpublished portion of the same codex, by Philotheos Bryennios, metropolitan of Nicomedia. Large octavo, 5 francs, 232 pages: Constantinople, 1883."

The Manuscript was discovered by Bryennios in the library of the Most Holy Sepulcher, in Fanar, of Constantinople, and announced to the learned world in his edition of the Epistles of Clement, published at Constantinople, 1875. The Manuscript is an 8vo volume, written on parchment in cursive characters. It contains 120 leaves, and is numbered 456 in the Library. It has a colophon, giving the date of the Manuscript as 1056 A. D., and the scribe, Leon. In 1875 Bryennios announced that the Manuscript contained, beside the epistles of Clement, which he then published, the epistles of Barnabas and Ignatius, and also the synopsis of John Chrysostom and the teaching of the twelve apostles, and promised to publish these as soon as possible. The Manuscript contained a section of the epistles of Clement which had been lost. It presented to the learned world for the first time after many centuries these epistles in a complete form.

The learned bishop now gives us the synopsis of John Chrysostom and the Teaching of the Apostles, together with other little bits of great interest. The delay in publishing is fully justified by the immense labor that has been bestowed, in the prolegomena and notes, in tracing all the references to this long-lost writing in all the earliest Christian writings, so that the evidence of the genuineness and antiquity of the document is overwhelming. If there had been a premature publication the Christian world would

have been agitated by intense and bitter struggles over its origin and genuineness in the interest of the several denominations whose darling theories are destroyed by it. But the learned bishop has wisely retained the document until he could present it in such a form as to compel the consent of the learned world. It comes exactly at the right time to smite with crushing power the sectarian prejudices of the several Churches of Christendom. It will exert a powerful influence in breaking down the denominational barriers.

The prolegomena takes up 149 pages, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles with the elaborate notes 55 pages, the indexes and appendixes, 20 pages. The whole work is a splendid exhibition of scholarship. It is a sign that the Orient is to play an important part in the learned world of the future. American scholars will have to study their Greek with renewed diligence if they would keep up with the production of the rising scholarship of the Greek Church. If classical Greek has become less important, ecclesiastical Greek has risen to vastly greater importance in our times. One of the finest sections of work is the exhibition, by a difference of Greek type, of the text of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles embedded in the Seventh Book of the Apostolic Constitutions, and then also in the midst of the Epitome of the rules of the holy apostles, where, as in the Apostles' Creed, each apostle has his share in pointing out the way of life. There is also a careful comparison of the text of the synopsis of Chrysostom of this MS. with the text given in Migne. There is besides a curious list of the Old Testament books in Hebrew and in Greek placed in the MSS. between the second epistle of Clement and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. The order of this list is: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Joshua, (this order, it will be noticed, inserts Joshua in the middle of the Hexateuch) Deuteronomy, Numbers, Ruth, Job, Judges, Psalter, I, II, III, IV Kings, I and II Chronicles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Jeremiah, The Twelve Prophets, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel I and II, Ezra, Esther. This must be very ancient and will be greatly valued by old Testament critics. Bryennios gives a list of passages of Scripture cited in the teaching of the apostles. These are from the Old Testament: Deut. v, 17—19, Zechariah xiv, 5, Malachi i, 11—14. From the Apocryphal book, Tobit 1, Sirach 3; thus there is one more citation from the Apocryphal books

than from the canonical books of the Old Testament. From the New Testament there are, from Matthew 20, from Luke 6, from the Acts iv, 32. The Gospels of John and Mark are not cited. The citations from the epistles are Ephesians vi, 5-9, I Thessalonians v, 22, and I Peter ii, 11. The Apocalypse is not cited, even where we would expect it, in Chapter xvi.

The Teaching of the Apostles in chapters i.-vi. is ethical; in vii.-xvi. ecclesiastical and liturgical. The doctrines of faith are only indirectly taught. The type of theology represented is distinctly the earliest type—the Jewish Christian—and indeed the earliest form of that type—the one represented by Matthew and James. It is a type free from the slightest taint or suspicion of heresy. The Jewish Christian type speedily developed into heretical forms. That this writing is simple and pure and so near the spirit and the letter of the doctrine of Jesus, according to Matthew, is one of the strongest evidences, not only of its genuineness, but still more of its very great antiquity. We do not see how it can be placed later than the middle of the second century. It tends toward the first half of that century, and is by all odds the most important writing exterior to the New Testament, now in the possession of the Christian world.

THE "TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES." *April 16 1884*

In our article of February 27th we gave an advance translation of the latter part of the "Teaching," the part which was unknown before. Since then a remarkable interest has been taken in the work by our American scholars, and three complete translations have appeared, made from the text of Bryennios, one by Professors Hitchcock and Brown (with their reprint of the Greek text), one in the *Andover Review*, by Mr. Starbuck, and one by Prof. Frederick Gardiner, in *The Churchman*. We give, today, our translation of the first six chapters known as "The Two Ways," and found in a variety of shapes in the literature of the Early Church. We have taken advantage of American, English and German investigations thus far.

Observe, in advance, the circumstance that Matthew xxviii, 19, 20 seems to give the frame upon which this "Teaching" is built up. *a.* "Teach all nations" corresponds with the "Two Ways" of life and of death, the first six chapters which stand below. *b.* "Baptizing them in the name

of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost" is found in chapter seventh. *c.* "Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you" is the continuation in chapters eight to fifteen. And, although there is no emphasizing of the "Lo! I am with you always," (*d.*) the "end of the world," is chapter sixteenth.

In Germany the discussion is still in progress, if, indeed, the first surprise can be said to be so far overcome as to leave room for the discussion to begin. Harnack still inclines to the years, say 140 to 150, and to Egypt as the country in which it arose, and Delitzsch seems to agree with him. Luthardt thinks it belongs to Northern Palestine and about the year 100. We may add that the Archimandrite Bapheides, in reviewing Bryennios's book in a Constantinople journal, (the *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*) declares himself to be in favor of the date 100. There can be little doubt that this date is too early. Harnack, whose knowledge of the first three centuries is of the widest character, is publishing the "Teaching" in the first fasciculus of the second volume of "*Texte und Untersuchungen*," and a proof of the first sheets lies before us, containing the Greek text and a German translation in parallel columns. Full notes are in the printers' hands, and prolegomena with excursus are almost ready. Let us turn to the text:

TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the nations.

I.—1. There are two ways—one of Life, and one of Death; and there is a great difference between the two ways. 2. The Way of Life, then, is this: First, Thou shalt love God, that made thee; second, thy neighbor as thyself; and all things that thou dost not wish done to thee, do them not thyself to another. 3. The teaching of these words is this: Bless those who curse you and pray for your enemies, and fast for those who persecute you, for what kind of grace is it if ye love those that love you? Do not the heathen the same? But love those that hate you, and ye shall not have an enemy. 4. Abstain from fleshly and worldly desires. If any one give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn the other also to him, and thou shalt be perfect; if any one compel thee to go a mile, go with him two; if any one take away thy cloak, give him thy coat also; if any one take from thee that which is thine do not demand it back. [The text adds: "For indeed thou canst not"; which is not quite clear.] 5. Give to every one that asketh of thee, and demand it not again; for the Father wishes that something be given to all out of the favors which have been bestowed upon each. Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment: for he is in the

cent. Woe to him that receiveth; for if any one in need receiveth he shall be innocent; but he who is not in need shall give satisfaction wherefore he received and to what end; and being put in prison, he shall be examined as to what he has done; and he shall not come out thence until he pay back the last farthing.

6. Moreover, concerning this also is it said: Let thine alms sweat in thy hands ["drop down on thy hands."—"J. W." (John Wordsworth, Prebendary of Lincoln?) in *The Guardian*, March 19th] till thou knowest to whom thou givest.

II.—1. The second commandment of the Teaching. 2. Thou shalt not murder, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not commit pederasty, thou shalt not go with harlots, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not use magic arts, thou shalt not prepare poisons, thou shalt not commit abortion, neither shalt thou kill the child that has just been born, thou shalt not desire that which is thy neighbor's. 3. Thou shalt not swear, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not backbite, thou shalt not cherish revenge. 4. Thou shalt not be double-minded, nor double-tongued; for a double-tongue is a snare of death. 5. Thy speech shall not be false nor empty, but filled with the deed. 6. Thou shalt not be an avaricious man, or a robber, or a hypocrite, or an evil-minded man, or a puffed-up man; thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbor. 7. Thou shalt hate no man, but some thou shalt reprove and for these thou shalt pray [or: "for some thou shalt pray,"], and some thou shalt love more than thine own soul.

III.—1. My child flee from every evil and from everything that is like it. 2. Be not given to anger, for anger leads to murder; be neither jealous nor quarrelsome nor touchy, for from all of these murders arise. 3. My child, be not lustful, for lust leads to harlotry, neither a speaker of obscene words, neither a man of lofty eyes [The sense here seems to be one who stares around at women.], for from all of these sins of adultery arise. 4. My child, be not an augur [one who prophesies from the flight or voice of birds.] since that leads to idolatry, nor a conjurer nor an astrologer nor a cleanser [one who pretends to cleanse from disease or from sin by sacrifices or other processes.], neither wish to look at these things, for from all of these idolatry arises. 5. My child, be not a liar, since lying leads to stealing, nor a covetous man, nor a lover of empty fame, for from all of these arise thefts. 6. My child, be no murmurer, since it leads to blasphemy, nor self-sufficient, nor evil-minded, for from all of these blasphemies arise. 7. Be meek, for "the meek shall inherit the earth." 8. Be long-suffering and merciful and free from evil, and quiet and good and always attentive to the words [literally "trembling at the words"; compare Isaiah lxvi, 2.] which thou hearest. 9. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, neither shalt thou give self-confidence a place in thy soul. Thy soul shalt not cleave to the lofty ones, but thou shalt converse with the just and the humble. 10. Whatsoever things befall thee, accept

them as good things, knowing that nothing happens without God.

IV.—1. My child, him that speaketh to thee the word of the Lord shalt thou keep in mind night and day, and thou shalt honor him as the Lord, for whence the authority [There is a play on the words in the original: "The lordship . . . the Lord." The sense is: "Where the Lord's word is spoken, there the Lord is. "From whence the Lord's person speaks," "J. W.," in *The Guardian*.] is spoken, there the Lord is. 2. Seek daily the faces of the saints, that thou mayest find refreshment in their words. 3. Thou shalt cause no division, but rather pacify those quarreling; thou shalt judge justly, thou shalt not respect persons in reproving for faults. 4. Thou shalt not be of doubtful soul, whether [a thing] shall be or not. ["Thou shalt not be a double soul." Harnack thinks it should be rendered: "Doubt not whether (God's judgment) will come or not."] 5. Be not a stretcher out of the hand in reference to receiving, and a withdrawer of the hand in reference to giving. 6. If thou hast, with thy hands thou shalt give a ransom for thy sins. 7. Thou shalt not hesitate to give nor shalt thou murmur in giving, for thou shalt know who the good Repayer of the reward is. 8. Thou shalt not turn away the needy man, but share all things with thy brother, and thou shalt not say that they are thine own; for if ye are sharers in that which is immortal how much more in mortal things. 9. Thou shalt not withhold thine hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from youth thou shalt teach them the fear of the Lord. 10. Thou shalt not command thy servant or thy maid, who hope in the same God, in thy bitterness, lest they cease to fear the God who is over both, for he does not come to call with respect to persons, but [he comes] to those whom the Spirit has prepared. 11. And ye servants be obedient to your masters as to the type of God, in reverence and fear. 12. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy and everything that is not pleasing to the Lord. 13. Thou shalt not neglect the commands of the Lord, but keep what thou hast received, neither adding nor taking away. 14. In the church thou shalt confess thy faults and thou shalt not come to thy prayer with an evil conscience. This is the Way of Life.

V.—1. But the Way of Death is this; first of all it is evil and full of curse: murders, adulteries, lusts, whoredoms, thefts, idolatries, conjurations, poison-makings, robberies, false witnessings, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, deceit, pride, wickedness, self-sufficiency, avarice, base-speech, envy, impudence, high-mindedness, boasting. 2. Persecutors of good men, hating truth, loving lying, not knowing the reward of righteousness, not joined to that which is good nor to just judgment, attentive not to that which is good, but to that which is evil, from whom meekness and patience are afar, loving vain things, hastening after revenge, not pitying the poor, not laboring with them that are in distress, not knowing him that made them, murdering children, destroying what God has

formed [These two phrases refer to the practices forbidden in chapter ii, verse 2, in an inverted order; the one is killing the child just born, the other killing the unborn child.], turning away the needy, distressing the oppressed, helpers of the rich, lawless judges of the poor, sinning in every way. Withdraw yourselves, children, from all these people.

VI.—1. See that no man cause thee to err from this Way of the Teaching, since he teaches thee without God. 2. If then thou art able to bear all the yoke of the Lord thou shalt be perfect; but if thou art not able, what thou art able this do. 3. Concerning food, endure what thou art able. But keep thyself carefully from that which is sacrificed to idols, for that is the service of dead gods.

Among the points to be noticed in these opening chapters we mention a few.

The Way of Life is the Way of Acts ix, 2; xix, 9, 23; xxii, 4; xxiv, 14, 22; and the two Ways are the broad way and the narrow way of Matthew.

Fasting as well as praying for enemies is commanded. But fasting and prayer are so closely connected in the Scriptures that it is not clear that this means anything more than praying. Still the germ of a heresy may be found here.

The commands for liberality in giving are very emphatic, and the correlative command to be slow to receive benefactions shows that a class of lazy paupers were attaching themselves to the Church. The origin of the quotation "Let thine alms sweat in thy hands until thou know to whom thou mayest give" is not known. So we say that one's hands *itch* to give.

The grossness of the sins against which candidates for baptism are warned indicates the terrible wickedness of the world about them. Murder, adultery, infanticide, feticide, poisoning, and nameless sins are included.

There seems to be the germ of a later heresy in the paragraph which declares that beneficence provides a ransom for sin.

The confession of sins "in the Church," that is, in the congregation, is yet a great way off from the auricular confession of the later days.

The tolerance given to those who are "not able" to keep all these commandments is noticeable, as also the strict prohibition of the use of food offered to idols. This shows a stricter rule than Paul cared to enforce.

The instruction of these six chapters seems to have been repeated to the candidates, who were, very likely, required to commit it to memory. It is marked for its purely ethical character. This is most

strenuous and imperative, and reminds one of the answers in the Episcopal Catechism, especially the long one beginning, "My duty toward my neighbor is, to love him as myself." All the theological doctrines which one can gather from this portion are, that there is a God who made us and who loves all men, who hears prayer, to whom we must "give account"; that "without God nothing occurs"; that there is a "word of God" which is "spoken" (reading not mentioned); that the Spirit leads men into the truth; that "the Lord" (Christ) has given commandments to be obeyed, which must neither be added to nor taken from (thus perhaps still orally transmitted). This is all. Theology is still implicit, not yet explicit; and being a Christian means accepting Christ as Messiah and teacher, and obeying his great command of love to God and self-sacrifice for men.

"THE WAY."

IN the Sabbath-school lesson, on which we have to comment in order this week, appears the passage (in the Revised Version), "Some were hardened and disobedient, speaking evil of the Way." It would appear that a particular manner of life or teaching had come to be distinguished especially as "the Way" of these new and peculiar people. That chapter from the Acts does not tell, in any definite terms, just what "the Way" was; but it is interesting to notice what definition of the term is given in this newly discovered document, the "Teaching of the Apostles," dating from the time when some of those were still living very possibly, or at least their children, against whose "Way" those who were hardened and disobedient spake evil.

The first six chapters in the "Teaching" are devoted to a definition of "the Way," and under this very designation of "the Way of Life" in opposition to "the Way of Death." The "Teaching" begins with these words:

"Two Ways there are, one of Life and one of Death; but there is a great difference between the two Ways. The Way of Life then, is this, first, thou shalt love God who made thee; second, thy neighbor as thyself, and all things whatsoever that thou wouldst not have done to thee, do not thou to another,"

Then follow the teachings of this Way in particular, forbidding resentment and retaliation in the language of the Sermon on the Mount; requiring prodigality in giving and abstinence in receiving; "for it has been said 'Let thine alms sweat in thy

hands until thou know to whom thou shalt give them.'" The Way of Life, we are further told at much length, forbids murders, lusts, magic, child-murder, falsehood, covetousness, malice, arrogance, hatred, jealousy, contentiousness, and requires meekness, gentleness, humility and guilelessness. One who follows the Way must honor them who speak the word of God, nor grudge his gifts, but must share with the needy. He must be gentle with servants, must hate hypocrisy, must confess his sins, must hold fast to our Saviour's Commandments, and must pray with a clean conscience. "This is the Way of Life."

Then follows a description of the other Way, the Way of Death. It is the Way of "murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, sorceries, robberies, false testimonies," etc., etc. And all this instruction, which was given to candidates for baptism, concludes with the warning: "See that no one lead thee astray from this Way of the Teaching."

What is noticeable above everything else in this description of the Way is that it is exclusively ethical. It reads like the Epistle of James. There is in it no theology. Whatever theology appears in this whole treatise, the earliest of the Church manuals, is incidental. What it emphasizes, and what was then wanted in the Church, was not so much sound belief as a radical reformation in the life. In this whole introductory portion, defining the instruction to catechumens, we are surprised to find the mention of not even one distinctively Christian belief; nothing more than the moral teachings of Christ. But these are taught so uncompromisingly that only a converted soul could accept them. The Way, as here taught, says nothing about anything beyond downright repentance, conversion and consecration.

Only in the latter, ritual portion come in the Christian doctrines, and still only incidentally. The ritual duties having to do with baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the officers of the Church are fully described; but we are left only to infer the Trinity from the baptismal formula. The prayers with the Lord's Supper give thanks in general terms for the life and knowledge which thus has made "known to us through Jesus, the servant," and for the "knowledge and faith and immortality which thou has made known to us through Jesus, thy servant;" for food and drink, physical and spiritual; and they offer petitions that

"thy Church may be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom"; that "grace may come, and this world may pass away"; but they say nothing of the Atonement, nor even the crucifixion, not a word of "the blood." Doubtless a great deal else is silently assumed, as one can be assured by the quotations from Matthew, Luke, and Paul, even the whole system of faith through a dying and risen Lord; but in these earlier and purer days of the Church, it was distinguished from the world, in its own consciousness, chiefly in the way that Christ said it should be. "By their fruits shall ye know them." Their Way was the way of good fruits and a holy, beneficent life.

"THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES." *March 8/84*

THE great discovery in Church history which we announced last week is of such capital importance that we recur to it for the purpose of indicating more particularly the bearing of some of its parts. We may here correct the evident error of "1883" for 1884, in the date of the number of the *Literaturzeitung*, from an advance copy of which we took our account.

The discovery of so capital a document, going back to the first half of the second century, and of so special a character—we might call it a directory of worship—makes this an *annus mirabilis* in Church history, perhaps a more important year than 1851, which was, we believe, the year of the publication of the long-lost "*Philosophumena*" of Hippolytus, and of the "*Sic et Non*" of Abelard. Of the genuineness of the new document we think there can be little doubt. It is fully accepted by Harnack, the best patristic scholar living. Then there is in it that peculiar quality which a scholar will recognize which is beyond forgery. It contains so much which is unexpected and fresh, and yet which harmonizes so admirably with everything before known, and it is so simple, so consistent, that the most accomplished scholar could not have forged it, and certainly not a member of the Greek Church. There is no Shapira trick possible in the treatise.

Perhaps the most striking point in the whole is its description of baptism. While some portions are not quite clear in their meaning, it is clear that the manner of baptism was regarded as a matter of mere convenience. Running water was preferred, as in a stream, otherwise standing water, as in a pool, otherwise warm water, or, finally,

if water be scarce, sprinkling as from a dish. It is not stated that the baptism in the former case was by immersion, though there is nothing to forbid it. But it was not considered necessary, and the language is quite in harmony with the opinion of those who believe that the earliest baptism was by affusion, the candidate standing in the water, by which the feet were cleansed, and having it poured with the hand upon the head; and that total immersion was an early development of the strong tendency to magnify the ritualism of the Church. If, in this respect, our document proves that the immediate successors of the apostles laid no stress on Immersion, if, indeed, they practiced it at all, on the much more important point of believers' baptism it appears to take the position now held by the Baptists. There seems to be no hint of the practice of infant baptism. The catechumens who had received the instruction required could hardly fail to include children of believers as well as converts from heathenism.

Another important point in view of the present differences is the light it throws on Church orders. We find, to our surprise, apostles continuing in the Church. But it is plain that bishops have nothing to do with them. Bishops are quite a different thing. The apostles are nothing else than itinerant missionaries, who may stop for a day or two to visit a local church, but whose business it is to be off on the outposts preaching to the heathen. They are not an order in the Church, any more than are prophets, who are mere local exhorters, moved by the Spirit. And the function of both apostles and prophets seems to be passing away; for, while it is not yet regarded as safe to challenge what they may say "in the Spirit," they were yet to be carefully tested and guarded against.

Two orders existed in the churches, bishops and deacons, both elected by the churches. The bishops are simple pastors over a church and not over a diocese. Presbyters are not mentioned, whence it seems that the double designation of the office of pastor employed in the Acts and Epistles had proved cumbrous, and the single name of bishop was retained. The bishops and deacons were chosen by the churches, just in what way is not stated so far as yet appears.

Among other points we notice that the cup, in the Eucharist, is given still to the laity; that baptism is an invariable prerequisite to the Communion; that trine

administration of baptism had sprung up, as well as a law of fasts; that the Lord's Day is observed, and not the Jewish Sabbath; and that the resurrection only of the righteous is assured. Beyond this, we notice the simplicity of faith and order. The tendency to ceremonialism and formal religion had begun, but had proceeded but a little way.

We may return to this subject again when we receive the full Greek text. Especially do we desire to see those first six chapters which embrace the doctrinal teaching given to applicants for baptism.

The Evening Post discusses the philosophy of the great general interest taken in the discovery of the "Teaching of the Apostles." It tells the story:

"A translation of the text, given by Harnack in a German theological journal, attracted the attention of the editor of a weekly religious journal in New York, who published an English translation of this German version. As soon as the text of Bryennios was received, professors in several institutions set about its republication in this country. The New York professors were first in the field with their edition of the Greek text, accompanied by a translation and brief comments. The Andover professors followed, almost the next day, with an independent translation and a scholarly critique. A Baltimore professor at once gave four lectures on the text, etc."

The *Post's* explanation is that there is ingrained in our religion a Puritanism which is a rehabilitation of ancient doctrine, and that "the extreme ecclesiastical party, the Episcopal, has professed to be rehabilitating early usages," as also Methodists and Irvingites (!) and that all these elements combined in giving an eager welcome to the document. Our explanation of the phenomenon is partly in the same line. It was no accident by which we learned immediately of the publication of the document. Its importance and value were instantly evident. We instantly gave it attention fitting its importance. In the most emphatic way possible we advertised the Christian world that this was the most remarkable discovery of the age, and we published the translation in our editorial columns. We can say that we are not in the habit of giving currency to silly frauds, and our announcement attracted universal attention. Before our first announcement was published, we had privately informed a theological professor of the discovery. He instantly engaged the first copy of Bryennios's Greek text which should reach New York. Only one came, and from that copy Professor Hitchcock's edition was prepared. We also wrote to Johns Hopkins that this new work was interesting to students of stichometry. So the "Baltimore Professor" got another very early copy. But no one could expect to get the start of Ezra Abbot. Scarce had we announced the "Teaching" before a copy of Bryennios, the first in the country, reached him. It was

from that copy that we published the Greek of the chapter on Baptism. It was from that copy that the Andover translation was made, and its issue in a monthly journal delayed it till the date of the appearance of Union Seminary edition. The first explanation of the attention given to the document is that the public happened to be somewhat authoritatively informed about it in these ways. Then comes the patent fact that Protestants claim to gather their Christian faith from the teachers of the first century, and this gave an extraordinary source of information as to what was taught in the first century, and it touches everybody. It is a manual of Church teaching and order. It has to do with just the questions on which denominations differ. It describes baptism. It gives the liturgy for the Lord's Supper. It lays down the duties of the officers of the Church. It has a very clear bearing on questions of bishops and apostolic succession. It has a hundred points of modern, present interest. It could not but attract great attention as soon as the public was once informed emphatically about it. But the *Post* is mistaken in supposing that the Episcopalians have had much to say about it. They have been almost utterly silent, while the Roman Catholics have not opened their mouths.

So far as we have noticed, only Professor Gardiner has published a translation, with not a word of comment, and a Nashotah Professor has issued a warning against it. The document will not trouble scholarly and liberal Episcopalians, who admit that apostolic succession is nonsense, and that episcopacy was a development—and none the worse for that—of the second century. But it is a blow between the eyes to Roman Catholics and to “rehabilitating” Ritualists. Why, it makes the “sacrifice” of the Eucharist not an offering of Christ, but an offering to Christ of food, as a peace offering. Its simplicity is the very antithesis of all formalism in creed or worship or government.

....The American public know of Philotheos Bryennios simply as the learned Bishop of Nicomedia, who has discovered and edited the complete Greek texts of the two epistles of Clement of Rome, and the “Teaching of the Apostles.” But he is not only a scholar, but a fervent and active Christian man. Two years ago he published a very admirable work of 360 pages, on the more urgent ecclesiastical reforms needed in the Greek Church, and on the means of resisting the encroachments of the Church of Rome. The Greek Synod, which lately met in Constantinople, has expressed its approval of the views of the distinguished prelate and scholar, and directed that his work should be printed and distributed at its own expense.

*Translation by Hall & Napier
"Sunday School Times" Apr. 12 1884.*

Among the many remarkable recoveries of long-lost ancient documents which this century has witnessed, there is none which has awakened a more immediate and more wide-spread popular interest than the discovery of the “Teaching of the Apostles,” a catechetical treatise of the early Church, known to us hitherto chiefly through references to it by Clement of Alexandria, and such later writers as Eusebius and Athanasius. Clement, who flourished about the end of the second century, cites the Teaching as Scripture, but it is expressly excluded from the canon by later writers. The fortunate discoverer of this document is the learned Bishop Bryennios of Nicomedia, in Asia Minor; and the place of discovery was Constantinople. The Greek text was recently published, with full prolegomena and notes in modern Greek, by Bishop Bryennios, and *The Independent*, which was the first of American journals to announce the publication, gave a translation of Chapters VII. to XVI. This translation lacked somewhat in exactness, however, being made (owing to the necessities

of the case) from the German version of Harnack rather than from the original Greek. Other translations have been published, notably those of Starbuck in the Andover Review; Gardiner, in The Churchman; and Hitchcock and Brown in the edition of The Teaching, published, in Greek and English, by Charles Scribner's Sons. On account of the popular interest in this remarkable document, as well as in the inter-denominational discussions to which its discovery has given a fresh stimulus, we devote the larger part of our Books and Writers department this week to a full and independent translation of the whole treatise from the original Greek. It is believed that this translation is more exact than any other now before the public. One or two illustrations may be given. In Chapter XVI., the phrase rendered by us "from under the curse itself" (see Rev. 22 : 3) is left untranslated by Harnack (and by The Independent, following Harnack), while, by a very natural mistake, Starbuck's translation, excellent as it is in many respects, here gets the blasphemous sense, "by him, the Curse," referring to Christ. There is also a lack of accuracy in Hitchcock and Brown's version, which is most easily seen in such errors as the translation of *hupomenē* (endurance, patience) by "humility," and of *mias ē duo* (one or two) by "two or three." The date of the original document is commonly set between 120 and 160 A.D., and this makes it the earliest Christian manual of church polity extant, outside of the New Testament itself.

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

THE LORD'S TEACHING THROUGH THE TWELVE APOSTLES TO THE NATIONS.

[Translated for The Sunday School Times.]

CHAPTER I. Two ways there are, one of life and one of death, but a wide difference between the two ways. The way of life, then, is this: First, thou shalt love God who made thee; second, thy neighbor as thyself; and all things whatsoever thou wouldst should not occur to thee, thou also to another do not do. And of these sayings the teaching is this: Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for them that persecute you. For what thank [is there], if ye love them that love you? Do not also the Gentiles do the same? But do ye love them that hate you; and ye shall not have an enemy. Abstain thou from fleshly and worldly lusts. If one give thee a blow upon thy right cheek, turn to him the other also; and thou shalt be perfect. If one impress thee for one mile, go with him two. If one take away thy cloak, give him also thy coat. If one take from thee thine own, ask it not back, for indeed

thou art not able. Give to every one that asketh thee, and ask it not back; for to all is the Father willing to bestow of his own free gifts. Happy [is] he that giveth according to the commandment; for he is guiltless. Woe to him that receiveth; for if one having need receiveth, he is guiltless; but he [that receiveth] not having need, shall pay the penalty, why he received and for what, and coming into straits (confinement) he shall be examined concerning the things which he hath done, and he shall not escape thence until he pay back the last farthing. But also now concerning this it hath been said, Let thine alms sweat in thy hands, until thou know to whom thou shouldst give.

CHAP. II. And the second commandment of the Teaching: Thou shalt not commit murder, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not commit pæderasty, thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not practice magic, thou shalt not practice witchcraft, thou shalt not murder a child by abortion nor kill that which is begotten. Thou shalt not covet the things of thy neighbor, thou shalt not forswear thyself, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not speak evil, thou shalt bear no grudge. Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued; for to be double-tongued is a snare of death. Thy speech shall not be false, nor empty, but fulfilled by deed. Thou shalt not be covetous nor rapacious nor a hypocrite nor evil disposed nor haughty. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbor. Thou shalt not hate any man, but some thou shalt reprove, and concerning some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love more than thy own life.

CHAP. III. My child, flee from every evil thing, and from every likeness of it. Be not prone to anger, for anger leadeth the way to murder; neither jealous, nor quarrelsome, nor of hot temper; for out of all these murders are engendered. My child, be not a lustful one; for lust leadeth the way to fornication; neither a filthy talker nor of lofty eye; for out of all these adulteries are engendered. My child, be not an observer of omens, since it leadeth the way to idolatry; neither an enchanter nor an astrologer nor a purifier, nor be willing to look at these things, for out of all these idolatry is engendered. My child, be not a liar, since a lie leadeth the way to theft; neither money-loving nor vainglorious, for out of all these thefts are engendered. My child, be not a murmurer, since it leadeth the way to blasphemy; neither self-willed nor evil-minded, for out of all these blasphemies are engendered. But be thou meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth. Be long-suffering and pitiful and guileless and gentle and good and always **trembling at the words which thou hast heard.** Thou shalt not exalt thyself, nor give over-confidence to thy soul. Thy soul shall not be joined with lofty ones, but with just and lowly ones shall it have its intercourse. The workings that befall thee receive as good, knowing that apart from God nothing cometh to pass.

CHAP. IV. My child, him that speaketh to thee the

word of God remember night and day; and thou shalt honor him as the Lord; for [in the place] whence lordly rule is uttered, there is the Lord. And thou shalt seek out day by day the faces of the saints, in order that thou mayest be refreshed by (or, rest upon) their words. Thou shalt not long for division, but shalt bring those who contend to peace. Thou shalt judge righteously, thou shalt not respect persons in reproving for transgressions. Thou shalt not be undecided whether it shall be or no. Be not a stretcher forth of the hands to receive and a drawer of them back to give. If thou hast [aught], through thy hands thou shalt give ransom for thy sins. Thou shalt not hesitate to give nor murmur when thou givest; for thou shalt know who is the good repayer of the hire. Thou shalt not turn away from him that is in want, but thou shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thine own; for if ye are partakers in that which is immortal, how much more in things which are mortal? Thou shalt not remove thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from [their] youth shalt teach [them] the fear of God. Thou shalt not enjoin aught in thy bitterness upon thy bondman or maidservant, who hope in the same God, lest ever they shall fear not God who is over both; for he cometh not to call according to the outward appearance, but unto them whom the Spirit hath prepared. And ye servants shall be subject to your masters as to a type of God, in modesty and fear. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy and everything which is not pleasing to the Lord. Do thou in no wise forsake the commandments of the Lord; but thou shalt keep what thou hast received, neither adding thereto nor taking therefrom. In the church thou shalt acknowledge thy transgressions, and thou shalt not come near for thy prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.

CHAP. V. And the way of death is this: First of all it is evil and full of curse: murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, witchcrafts, rapines, false witnessings, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, deceit, haughtiness, depravity, self-will, greediness, filthy talking, jealousy, over-confidence, loftiness, boastfulness; persecutors of the good, hating truth, loving a lie, not knowing a reward for righteousness, not cleaving to good nor to righteous judgment, watching not for that which is good but for that which is evil; from whom meekness and endurance are far, loving vanities, pursuing requital, not pitying a poor man, not laboring for the afflicted, not knowing him that made them, murderers of children, destroyers of the handiwork of God, turning away from him that is in want, afflicting him that is distressed, advocates of the rich, lawless judges of the poor, utter sinners. Be delivered, children, from all these.

CHAP. VI. See that no one cause thee to err from this way of the Teaching, since apart from God it teacheth thee. For if thou art able to bear all the yoke of the Lord, thou wilt be perfect; but if thou art not able, what thou art able that do. And concerning food,

bear what thou art able; but against that which is sacrificed to idols be exceedingly on thy guard; for it is the service of dead gods.

CHAP. VII. And concerning baptism, thus baptize ye: Having first said all these things, baptize into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit in living water. But if thou have not living water, baptize into other water; and if thou canst not in cold, in warm. But if thou have not either, pour out water thrice upon the head into the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit. But before the baptism let the baptizer fast, and the baptized, and whatever others can; but thou shalt order the baptized to fast one or two days before.

CHAP. VIII. But let not your fasts be with the hypocrites; for they fast on Monday and Thursday; but do ye fast on Wednesday and Friday. Neither pray as the hypocrites; but as the Lord commanded in his gospel, thus pray: Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven [so] also upon earth. Give us to-day our daily (needful) bread, and forgive us our debt as we forgive our debtors. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the power and the glory for ever. Thrice in the day thus pray.

CHAP. IX. Now concerning the Thanksgiving (Eucharist), thus give thanks. First, concerning the cup: We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, which thou madest known to us through Jesus thy Servant; to thee be the glory forever. And concerning that which is broken: We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou madest known to us through Jesus thy Servant; to thee be the glory forever. Even as this which is broken was scattered over the hills, and was gathered together and became one, so let thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever. But let no one eat or drink of your Thanksgiving (Eucharist), but they who are baptized into the name of the Lord; for indeed concerning this the Lord hath said: Give not that which is holy to the dogs.

CHAP. X. But after ye are filled, thus give thanks; We thank thee, holy Father, for thy holy name which thou didst cause to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which thou madest known to us through Jesus thy Servant; to thee be the glory forever. Thou, Master almighty, didst create the whole world for thy name's sake; thou gavest food and drink to men for enjoyment, that they might give thanks to thee; but to us thou didst freely give spiritual food and drink and life eternal through thy Servant. Before all things we thank thee that thou art mighty; to thee be the glory forever. Remember, Lord, thy church, to deliver it from all evil and to make it perfect in thy love, and gather it, sanctified, from the four winds, into thy kingdom, which thou hast prepared for it; for thine is the power and the glory forever. Let

grace come and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the Son of David. Whoever is holy, let him come; Whoever is not so, let him repent. Marantha. Amen. But permit the prophets to make Thanksgiving as much as they desire.

CHAP. XI. Whosoever, therefore, cometh and teacheth you all these things, which have been said before, receive him. But if the teacher himself turn and teach another doctrine to the destruction of this, hear him not; but [if he teaches] so as to increase righteousness and the knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord. But concerning the apostles and prophets according to the decree of the gospel, thus do. Let every apostle that cometh to you be received as the Lord. But shall not remain [except] one day; but if there be need, also the next; but if he remain three days, he is a false prophet. And when the apostle goeth away, let him take nothing but bread until he lodgeth; but if he ask money, he is a false prophet. And every prophet that speaketh in the Spirit ye shall neither try nor judge; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. But not every one that speaketh in the Spirit is a prophet; but only if he hold the ways of the Lord. Therefore from their ways shall the false prophet and the prophet be known. And every prophet, who ordereth a meal, in the Spirit, eateth not from it, except indeed he be a false prophet; and every prophet who teacheth the truth, if he do not what he teacheth, is a false prophet. And every prophet, proved true, working unto the mystery of the church in the world, yet not teaching [others] to do what he himself doeth, shall not be judged among you: for so also did the ancient prophets. But whoever saith in the Spirit: Give me money, or something else, ye shall not listen to him; but if he saith to you to give for others' sake who are in need, let no one judge him.

CHAP. XII. But let every one that cometh in the name of the Lord be received, and afterward ye shall prove and know him; for ye shall have understanding right and left. If he who cometh is a wayfarer, assist him as far as ye are able; but he shall not remain with you, except for two or three days, if need be. But if he willeth to abide with you, being an artisan, let him work and eat; but if he hath no trade, according to your understanding see to it that, as a Christian, he shall not live with you idle. But if he willeth not so to do, he is a Christ-monger. Watch that ye keep aloof from such.

CHAP. XIII. But every true prophet that willeth to abide among you is worthy of his support. So also a true teacher is himself worthy, as the workman, of his support. Every first-fruit, therefore, of the products of wine-press and threshing-flour, of oxen and of sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets, for they are your high priests. But if ye have not a prophet, give it to the poor. If thou makest a batch of dough, take the first-fruit and give according to the commandment. So also when thou openest a jar of wine or of oil, take the first-fruit and give it to the prophets; and of money and clothing and every possession, take the first-fruit, as it

may seem good to thee, and give according to the commandment.

CHAP. XIV. But every Lord's day do ye gather yourselves together, and break bread, and give thanksgiving, after having confessed your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure. But let no one that is at variance with his fellow come together with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be profaned. For this is that which was spoken by the Lord. In every place and time offer to me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the nations.

CHAP. XV. Appoint, therefore, for yourselves, bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek, and not lovers of money, and truthful and proved; for they also render to you the service of prophets and teachers. Despise them not therefore, for they are your honored ones, together with the prophets and teachers. And reprove one another not in anger, but in peace, as ye have it in the gospel; but to every one that acts amiss against another, let no one speak, nor let him hear aught from you until he repent. But your prayers and alms and all your deeds so do, as ye have it in the gospel of our Lord.

CHAP. XVI. Watch for your life's sake. Let not your lamps be quenched, nor your loins unloosed; but be ye ready, for ye know not the hour in which our Lord cometh. But often shall ye come together seeking the things which are befitting to your souls: for the whole time of your faith will not profit you, if ye be not made perfect in the last time. For in the last days false prophets and corrupters shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love shall be turned into hate; for when lawlessness increaseth, they shall hate and persecute and betray one another, and then shall appear the world-deceiver as Son of God, and shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands, and he shall do iniquitous things which have never yet come to pass since the beginning. Then shall the creation of men come into the fire of trial, and many shall be made to stumble and shall perish; but they that endure in their faith shall be saved from under the curse itself. And then shall appear the signs of the truth; first, the sign of an unrolling in heaven; then the sign of the sound of the trumpet; and the third, the resurrection of the dead; yet not of all, but as it is said: The Lord shall come and all his saints with him. Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.

TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

SIR—The treatise *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*, which was ably reviewed in your columns some three or four months ago, seems to be attracting increased attention, and we are indebted to Archdeacon Farrar for a translation of it in the *Contemporary Review* for this month. Would you permit me to place before your readers one or two matters connected with it which seem to have escaped notice?

The date of its composition has been assigned by the editor, Bishop Bryennios, to about the middle of the second century. Dr. Farrar, without giving any particular reason, considers it as written at the very beginning of that century. Another leading scholar, I am told, considers it to have been composed much earlier, say A.D. 70 or 80. From internal evidence and comparison of its contents with those of the Apostolical Epistles, I should certainly say that the earliest of these dates is in all probability nearest to the truth; for, having attentively read it many times, I cannot conceive that it could have been written after either St. Paul or St. John had made his mark on the doctrine of the Church. For though one or two isolated phrases may be produced, which seem to resemble some expressions in St. Paul's or St. John's Epistles, yet the whole tenour of the treatise shows that it could not have been written by one who in the least degree realised the view of the Gospel taken by either of these Apostles.

For it is a fact that in this treatise, evidently intended by the author to be a summary of Apostolic teaching, we have not a single reference to those truths which are called the doctrines of grace. There is, for instance, not only no reference to the sacrifice of our Blessed Lord upon the Cross, or to His Blood shed for the remission of sins, but there is absolutely no reference to the Death of Christ at all. The writer literally might not have heard of it. In fact, there is not a single mention of Redemption throughout the book. Besides this, there is no reference whatsoever to the Holy Spirit as regenerating, or renewing, or sanctifying, or purifying the heart. No reference to the intercession of Christ, and no allusion to that very peculiar truth so characteristic both of Pauline and Johannian Christianity—the truth that the Christian is “in” Christ and Christ “in” the Christian.

Now, this ignoring “of the Death of Christ and of the benefits which we receive thereby,” in a treatise which professes to be an embodiment of Apostolic doctrine, is simply amazing, when we consider that there are in the book (chap. ix.) two thanksgiving prayers—(Archdeacon Farrar, I think, wrongly calls them consecration prayers)—one for the Cup, another for the Bread, of the Eucharist. Besides these there is closely following upon them a third Eucharistic thanksgiving, a remarkable effusion of mingled piety and poetry, from which all reference to the Lord's Death is unaccountably absent. Archdeacon Farrar has a characteristic note on the first of these:—

“The Eucharistic consecration prayer is as significant for what it says as for what it leaves unsaid, and cannot but have weight in modern controversies. There is not a gleam of anything distantly resembling or approaching the doctrine of Transubstantiation, or any analogous doctrine, nor is there even a reference to the words, ‘This is My Body,’ ‘This is My Blood.’”

But why does the Archdeacon stop here, and not tell us that the prayers ignore the death of Christ?

Now, surely, if the Lord instituted the Eucharist in the words “This is My Body,” “This is My Blood,” which from the four accounts of it in Scripture He certainly did, then any so-called consecration thanksgiving which takes no notice of such words, or of the reconciling death which the institution commemorates, must be simply non-Christian. There may be one or two Christian ideas embodied in these thanksgivings, but since the truth to which the Eucharist witnesses, the death of Christ and our particular reception of the benefits of that death, is excluded, the prayer or thanksgiving, so far as the Eucharist is concerned, is, I repeat, non-Christian.

Now, supposing that the author wrote, say, in the year 100, he must have known the Synoptic Gospels. Archdeacon

Farrar says that he knew St. Matthew and St. Luke. He must have known, then, that the Lord said, "Do this in remembrance of Me"—i.e., of course, "of My dying for you." He must also have known at least the earlier Epistles of St. Paul, and amongst them that to the Corinthians, containing the account of the original celebration received from Christ Himself—containing the Eucharistical reference to the death of Christ in the words, "Ye do show the Lord's death till He come;" containing also the Eucharistic teaching, "The cup of blessing which we bless is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ?" &c. (1 Cor. x.); also the reference to "Christ our Passover being sacrificed for us" (1 Cor. v. 7). If, then, he was a Christian teacher—I will not say an orthodox Christian, because the word is so disliked, but I will say a teacher according to the mind of that Spirit Who we all believe inspired St. Paul—could he have written a treatise on the doctrine of the Apostles and avoided all reference to Christ's death for sin? or could he have written of the Eucharist in seeming unconsciousness of its reference to the same all-reconciling Death?

St. Paul, whatever men thought of him and of his teaching, must have been certainly by far the most widely known teacher of the Church in his day. He was abundantly known to the Jewish branches of it from his constant visits to Jerusalem. He must have been well known to all the Gentile Churches, at least in Europe and Asia Minor, for he founded most of them and spent his life travelling among them. It must have been known far and wide that he had credentials as direct from Christ Himself as those of any of the Apostles, and that he instructed the Churches by Epistles which the Judaisers themselves acknowledged to be "weighty and powerful." If, then, in the year 100 A.D. a Christian professing to write a treatise upon Apostolic doctrine knows nothing of St. Paul's writings, it must be either through ignorance of God's greatest movement in the Church since Pentecost, in which case he must of course have been totally incompetent to take upon himself to write a book with such a title and with such pretensions; or he must have disliked the Pauline view of Christianity, and probably denied the Apostleship of St. Paul, as, I need not say, a Jew of Palestine was not at all unlikely to do.

From such considerations I cannot help thinking that this treatise must be either ante-Pauline or anti-Pauline. I would earnestly hope the former, for the writer must have been a very pious, God-fearing man, having an earnest zeal of God, though certainly not according to the knowledge of God and of Christ set forth in the writings of SS. Peter, Paul, and John. By ante-Pauline I do not, of course, mean before the time of St. Paul's Apostleship, or even his martyrdom, but before his doctrine had permeated the Church. It had certainly made its place in the theology of the Church before the end of the first century; for we have in the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians (generally considered the oldest of uninspired Christian writings) several distinct quotations from St. Paul's Epistles, and very many more distinct references to their contents.

The omission of all reference to Christ's death in the Eucharistic thanksgivings seems so extraordinary that I have been led to question whether they were really Eucharistic in the sense of referring to the Lord's Supper, whether they were not thanksgivings—i.e., eucharists, over ordinary meals, and whether they do not show that at that earliest period, even ordinary meals had more of the character of the Agapé than at later times. And two other considerations seem to lead this way. One that the third thanksgiving is to be said "after being satisfied" (*Μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*), which seems to imply a meal for the satisfaction of the hunger of the body rather than of the soul; another, that at nearly the end (chapter xiv.) there is a much more specific reference to the Eucharist as the speciality of the Lord's Day, and the fulfilment by the Church, as such, of Malachi i. 11-14.

I have mainly directed attention to the divergence between the views of the writer of this treatise and those of St. Paul, because St. Paul directly refers to the Eucharist as intimately connected with both the Body and Blood of the Lord and with His Death; but the same difference is manifest if we take the First Epistle General of St. Peter—the Apostle, be it remembered, of the Circumcision. There is nothing in the Didaché in the least degree answering to such an expression as "Obedience

and sprinkling of the Blood of Jesus Christ," nothing at all parallel to "Ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, . . . but with the precious Blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish and without spot." In fact, the treatise from beginning to end has no trace of that Evangelical truth respecting the efficacy of the Blood and Intercession of Christ and the sanctifying power of the Spirit, which, no matter how in these latter days it may have been perverted or distorted, is the foundation of all the Christian's hope for the forgiveness of his sins and the subduing of his heart to God. I know no Christian treatise purporting to give an account of practical Christianity so utterly unevangelical in the highest and best and most unsectarian sense of that much-abused word. In writing this it must be understood that I do not for a moment advocate the notion that every short treatise on religion must contain a reference to every truth of the Gospel. I repudiate altogether such bondage. But in a book written professedly to give an account of the doctrine of the Apostles to find no reference to the death of Christ or to the redemption it effected is a caution to receive the book for what it is worth, and as a testimony to the teaching of the Catholic Church at the end of the first century it seems to me to be worth very little.

But it is probable that the book is of considerable value in the matter of Christian antiquities, as representing the Judaical phase of Christianity at its best. And if so, it goes far in explaining the extraordinary energy with which St. Paul, the great Apostle of grace, repudiated that teaching. The book teaches the law pure and simple, and applies the law as if it could give life, which it cannot (Gal. iii. 21),—the law, I grant, at times very practically and spiritually stated and applied, but still the mere law, without any reference to any promise of forgiving, or regenerating, or sanctifying, or strengthening grace. For instance, there is but one reference that I remember to the forgiveness of sins, "If thou hast (this world's goods) thou shalt give with thine hands, as a ransom for thy sins," and in a note the Archdeacon refers to Daniel iv. 27, which, taken strictly, is not much to the point; but surely some notice should be taken of the doctrine of the real Apostle St. John in 1 John i. 7-10, of St. Peter in 1 Peter ii. 24, of St. Paul in Col. i. 20, 21.

There is but one Epistle in the Sacred Canon which seems to resemble this Didaché in its non-doctrinal character, the Epistle of St. James. In it Archdeacon Farrar tells us, "We do not find one direct word about the Incarnation, or the Crucifixion, or the Atonement, or justification by faith, or sanctification by the Spirit, or the resurrection of the dead;" but there is this difference: St. James's Epistle is not given to teach its readers the doctrine of the Apostles. On the contrary, it is taken for granted that they had been before instructed in and held or continued in "the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory" (James ii. 1). It was rather written to console and support those under persecution, but both the Treatise and the Epistle evidently belong to the same undoctinal, undogmatic type of Christianity, and as this type passed away towards the end of the century it seems probable that the dates of the two documents are not very far apart from one another.

And now to proceed to another point—Church organisation. The reference to this in chapters xi., xii., xiii. is exceedingly interesting, and in one respect, at least, very useful to contemplate, for it sets before us the picture of a ministry as self-denying and as unworldly as we have in all Church history. There were then persons called apostles, whose ministry was itinerant, but instead of remaining two or three years in a place, as itinerant ministers amongst us do, they remained but two days. If they remained in any place three days they were to be accounted false prophets. We read in the same chapter xi., "When the apostle departs let him take nothing except enough to last till he reach his night's quarters. If he ask for money he is a false prophet." This seems to take us back to the state of things ordered by the Lord Himself, "Provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purses" (Matth. x. 9).

The Church organisation of this treatise carries us back to the time when missionaries were called apostles, as in Rom. xvi. 7., Phil. ii. 25; but it is especially interesting as bringing before us the ministerial action of "the prophets," an order of men to which there has been nothing corresponding since the first

century in any branch of the Church, or in any body of Christians, except amongst some fanatics, as the Montanists, the Anabaptists of Munster, and another sect to which I shall presently allude. The names of "apostle" and "prophet" seem to be interchangeable. And yet, though the rule is apparently so strict that an apostle is not to remain above two days in any place on pain of being accounted a false prophet, yet in the very next chapter [xii.] special provision is made to ensure the man a maintenance, if he wishes to settle permanently in any place. In chapter xv. they are told to appoint Bishops (that is, we suppose, overseers of congregations) and deacons, but nothing is said of the particular duties of these Bishops and deacons. They seem to exercise only the same ministry as the prophets. "They, too, minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers." Altogether, the organisation, if such it can be called, is of the loosest kind, and in every point seems in the sharpest contrast to that into which the Church, guided, no doubt, by the Holy Spirit, has finally settled down.

But there are one or two points about the ministry as represented in this book which deserve mentioning. One, that it retains the name of apostle; another, that its most important ministry by far is the prophetic. The state of things here described, or rather hinted at, here appears in the main the same as that which prevailed at the time when the First Epistle to the Corinthians was written; and which, at the time of the writing of the Pastoral Epistles, seems to have given place to a more localised or settled ministry, in which apparently the prophet has no specified place.

There has been, as most of us probably know, a remarkable attempt made in the nineteenth century to reproduce or resuscitate this ministry of prophets—viz., by the Catholic Apostolic Church, commonly called Irvingism. In this body the prophet, at least at first, was much more important than the apostle, because, as I understand, it was by the prophets that the apostles were designated; but the issue has not been encouraging.

It is not my purpose to enter into many matters of very great interest connected with this *Didaché*, such as, for instance, its relations to the Seventh Book of the Apostolical Constitutions; but I cannot help making a remark upon a view of the latter book, taken by Archdeacon Farrar, which seems to me unfair. He designates the Seventh Book as "double-dyed with the spirit of the falsarius," because the contents profess to be taken down from the mouths of the Apostles.* No doubt it is a "pious" fraud, but does not the same accusation lie against a man who in the year 100 professes to write a "Doctrine of the Apostles," taking no notice of what the real Apostles had written?

With respect to the Scripture quotations in this curious book Archdeacon Farrar writes†:—

"The large majority of his Scriptural quotations seem to be made from memory. The Gospels which he seems to be best acquainted with are those of St. Matthew and St. Luke. The main allusions to St. Matthew are to the Sermon on the Mount, or to the closing chapters. Scarcely one of them is verbally accurate, which implies that the writer did not actually possess a manuscript of the Gospel, and had not one at hand for the purpose of exact quotation."

Here, then, is a man who at the end of the first century, when the first three Gospels had been published thirty or forty, one perhaps fifty years, had not a copy of a single one (though he might have written one fairly out in a fortnight), and who only now and then peeps into those of his neighbours, yet sits down to write a book with the title, "The teaching of the Lord by the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles."

In conclusion, I do not see how the book can be used with any honesty against Catholic truth. Its utter absence of "dogma," which some will hail with satisfaction, really amounts to a complete absence of all promise of divine grace, whether expressed in words or embodied in sacraments.

Baptism is mentioned and the water specified that it should be running water, or, if need be, warm, but not a word about its having any meaning. The Eucharist, as we have seen, is mentioned, but without a word of its connection with the all-reconciling Death.

There is one to me very remarkable passage in the few last sentences—an allusion to the first resurrection of Phil. iii. (the

* In the *Expositor* for May, p. 381. † In the *Expositor* for May, p. 391.

exanastasis), in the words—"The third sign, the Resurrection of the Dead; not, however, of all, but as hath been said, 'The Lord shall come, and all the saints with Him.'"

M. F. SADLER.

THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES

SIR—The great interest felt in the new MS. is widely expressed, but if "the discoverers and all the critics profess themselves unable to interpret" any one of its sentences, he is to be praised who shall solve the difficulty.

The true meaning of the paragraph containing the words *ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας* involves the construction first, and, secondly, the deduction claimed therefrom.

1. In reply to Mr. Birks I venture to suggest that his translation is very trying—"making garniture of a church for a sacramental celebration," and I doubt that the French word will, as here used, commend itself.

I offer no translation, my main concern being with the deduction so confidently drawn from the paragraph by Mr. Birks, but I may just remind brethren that *ἐκκλησιάζω* means to call an assembly or congregation, and so does *ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν*. Whether *κοσμικὸν* is an adjective or a substantive may be doubtful. Of course, "if it were a Greek substantive it must have appeared in Greek" (!) before its supposed Hebrew form, but that transliteration does not really prove even so much as Middleton allows. It may be an adjective, as in a similar construction, and with another word, *ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς*, Acts xix. 24. The governing word seems to be *ποιῶν*, and it is, both in subject and construction, analogous to St. Luke xxii. 19, *ποιεῖτε εἰς . . . ; ποιῶν εἰς . . .*

Now, it is remarkable that *κοσμικὸν* is an infrequent word, used only twice in the New Testament; but it is noticeable that Josephus has the phrase *κοσμικῆς λατρείας*, which accords with, and perhaps in some measure accounts for, the application of the word in question to Church functions, and to the *μυστήριον*, or Holy Sacrament.

If the word be an adjective, then it would mean "ordered" or "fair" ("the fair beauty of His temple"), or "dignified."

The use of the word in the form *κόσμιος* in 1 Tim. ii. 9 and iii. 2 is remarkable.

2. With somewhat more confidence I venture to doubt Mr. Birks's inference—viz., that the *Didachē* shows (contrary to the preface in the Ordinal) that there were in the Church "two orders and two orders only . . . and not three orders . . . as in the Epistles of Ignatius."

It is a commonplace of students to know that the names "Bishop, priest, deacon," as now used, are later than "the Apostles' time;" but the thing—three orders—was there "it is evident" from the first, and we were so taught to distinguish when preparing for ordination.

The *Didachē*, I think, strongly confirms this truth, for it shows one, called a "prophet" or "Apostle" (applied to the same person), as supreme in order and doing a Bishop's proper work of rule and oversight in the Church, with two orders inferior to him.

The names of the three orders were not distributed in the New Testament times. St. Paul the Apostle was also called "deacon;" "Apostles" were, as in the *Didachē* probably, any messengers of the Churches, and "Bishops" and "presbyters" were the same (Titus i. 5-7). In the cases of SS. Timothy and Titus even, specialisation does not yet appear, but it seems likely that the *Didachē* gives "the missing link," showing a third order to which some belonged, "prophets," who though ordering and ruling have as yet no name of office in the New Testament.

If this conjecture be sound then the very early date of the *Didachē* is confirmed; it contains a picture of Christian Church-life in, or close upon, the days of SS. Timothy and Titus, and it may throw light upon Ephesians iv. 11—"He gave some apostles, and some prophets. . . ."

If the *Didachē* be not a forgery its very early date is almost a necessary conclusion, for Ignatius wrote from his settled bishopric at Antioch, describing a settled order of the Church, with "Bishops, priests, and deacons" of unquestioned obligation, and it is next to impossible to imagine the *Didachē* could

have been written simultaneously with his Epistles, or be a description of the same settled order.

So early a document is invaluable; but in proportion to its value is the importance of care and accurate handling in its interpretation. One remarkable coincidence is evidential—viz., that the *Didachē* and *Pliny's Letter to Trajan* agree in representing the Holy Sacrament as being the supreme object (in the days of one or more of the Apostles) of the early Christians, in "the assembling of themselves together."

Woodleye, Farnborough, June 13, 1884. W. F. HOBSON.

SIR—Is Mr. Birks sure that the ritual he speaks of (the breaking the middle one of three loaves, and laying by one portion till the meal is over) is not more recent than the institution of the Holy Eucharist?

It is said to be in representation of a portion of the Paschal lamb which used to be kept to be partaken of when the meal was ended.

My only authority at hand is Bickell, *Messe und Pascha*, and he refers to Maimonides as saying that, during the existence of the Temple, two loaves sufficed.

HENRY DE ROMESTIN.

Freeland Parsonage, June 12, 1884.

Sunday School Times. May 2nd 1885.

THE LESSONS OF THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

BY PROFESSOR PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.

Since the discovery of the Sinaitic manuscript of the Bible, in the convent of St. Catharine, at the foot of the Mount of Legislation, by the German Professor Tischendorf, in 1859, no literary discovery has created such a sensation in the theological world as that of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, by the Nicomedian Metropolitan Philotheos Bryennios. A book written, in all probability, before the close of the first century, by a Christian of the second generation, and [professedly] summing up the teaching of the apostles on faith and morals, on baptism, the Lord's Supper, public worship, church polity and discipline, in fact, a complete church manual, excited the curiosity of all denominations and sects. German, French, English, and American divines fell on the precious morsel with a ravenous appetite. Book after book, essay after essay, appeared since its first publication at Constantinople, in December, 1883, and the theme is not yet exhausted.

Nowhere has the interest been more extensive and more practical than in the United States. All denominations and parties have tried to make capital of it for their favorite theories and practices. Pædobaptists found in it a welcome argument for pouring or sprinkling, as a legitimate mode of baptism; Baptists pointed triumphantly to the requirement of immersion in living water as the rule, and to the absence of any allusion to infant baptism; while the threefold repetition of immersion, and the requirement of previous fasting, suited neither party. Episcopalians were pleased to find bishops and deacons (though no deaconesses), but non-Episcopalians pointed to the implied identity of bishops and presbyters; while the traveling apostles and prophets puzzled the advocates of all forms of church

government. The friends of liturgical worship derived aid and comfort from the eucharistic prayers, and the prescription to recite the Lord's Prayer three times a day; but free prayer is likewise sanctioned, and "the prophets" are permitted to pray as long as they please after the eucharistic sacrifice with which the Agapé was connected. Roman Catholic divines found traces of purgatory, and the daily sacrifice of the mass, but not a word about the Pope and an exclusive priesthood, or the worship of saints and the Virgin, or any of the other distinctive features of the papal system; while another Roman Catholic critic depreciates the *Didache* as a product of the Ebionite sect. Unitarians and Rationalists were pleased with the meagreness of the doctrinal teaching, and the absence of the dogmas of the Trinity, incarnation, depravity, atonement, etc.; but they overlooked the baptismal formula and the eucharistic prayers, and the fact that the roots of the Apostles' Creed are at least as old as the *Didache*, as is proven by the various Ante-Nicene rules of faith. Millenarians and anti-Millenarians have alike appealed to the *Didache* with about equal plausibility.

We must look at the *Didache*, as on any other historical document, impartially and without any regard to sectarian issues. It is, in fact, neither Catholic nor Protestant, neither Episcopalian nor anti-Episcopalian, neither Baptist nor Pædo-Baptist, neither sacerdotal nor anti-sacerdotal, neither liturgical nor anti-liturgical; yet it is both in part or in turn. It does not fit into any creed or ritual or church polity or church party of the present day; yet it presents one or more points of resemblance to Greek, Latin, and Protestant views and usages. It belongs, like the writings of the apostolic fathers, to a state of transition from divine inspiration to human teaching, from apostolic freedom to churchly consolidation. This is just what we must expect, if history is a living process of growth.

The *Didache* claims no apostolic authority; it is simply the summary of what the unknown author learned either from personal instruction or oral tradition to be the teaching of the apostles, and what he honestly believed himself. It is anonymous, but not pseudonymous; post-apostolic, but not pseudo-apostolic. Its value is historical, and historical only. It furnishes us important information about the catechetical instruction and usages in the age and country where it was written, but not beyond. It takes its place among the genuine documents of the apostolic fathers so called—Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Ignatius, Barnabas, Hermas. These writings fill the gap between the apostles and the church fathers, from the close of the first to the middle of the second century; just as the Apocrypha of the Old Testament fill the gap between Malachi and John the Baptist.

The following is a summary of the historical lessons of the *Didache* as regards the state of Eastern Christianity in the post-apostolic age:

1. Catechetical instruction was required as a preparation for church-membership.

2. That instruction was chiefly moral and practical, and based upon the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount. No doubt, it included also the main facts in the life of Christ, for the document assumes throughout faith in Christ as Lord and Saviour, and repeatedly refers to his gospel.

3. The moral code was of the highest order, far above that of any other religion or school of philosophy. It was summed up in the royal commandments of supreme love to God and love to our neighbor, as explained by the teaching and example of Christ. The superior morality of Christianity in theory and practice carried in itself the guarantee of its ultimate victory.

4. Baptism was the rite of initiation into church-membership, and was administered by trine immersion in a river or fountain, but with a certain freedom as to the quality of the water and the mode of its application; pouring water three times on the head being allowed as legitimate baptism in case of scarcity of water. Fasting before and after the act was required; but no oil, salt, or exorcism, or any other material or ceremony, are mentioned.

5. The Eucharist was celebrated every Lord's Day in connection with the Agapé (as at Corinth, in the time of Paul), and consisted of a fraternal meal, thanksgivings, and free prayers for the temporal and spiritual mercies of God in Christ. It was regarded as the Christian sacrifice of thanksgiving to be offered everywhere and always, according to the prophecy of Malachi.

6. There were no other sacraments but these two. At least, none is hinted at.

7. The Lord's Prayer, with the doxology, was repeated three times a day. This, together with the eucharistic

thanksgivings, constituted the primitive liturgy; yet freedom was given to free prayer from the heart in public worship.

8. The first day of the week was celebrated as the Lord's Day, in commemoration of his resurrection, by public worship and the Eucharist; and Wednesday and Friday were observed as days of fasting.

9. The church at large was governed by traveling apostles or evangelists, who carried the gospel to unknown parts; by prophets, who were either itinerant or stationary, and instructed, comforted, and revived the converts; while the local congregations were governed by bishops (or presbyters) and deacons, elected and supported by the Christian people.

10. Most of the books of the apostolic writings, but especially the Gospel of Matthew, were more or less known, and their authority recognized; but there was as yet no settled canon of the Scriptures.

11. Outside of the gospel tradition, nothing of any importance was known concerning Christ and the apostles. The *Didache*, only one extra canonical sentence of uncertain authorship (I. 6), possibly a reported say-

ing of our Lord, which adds nothing of consequence to the twenty-three sentences which tradition ascribes to him.

As Bishop Lightfoot says, "All the evangelical matter, so far as we can trace it, is found within the four corners of our canonical Gospels."

12. The *Didache* furnishes another proof of the infinite superiority of the New Testament over ecclesiastical literature. Interesting and important as it is, it dwindles into insignificance before the Epistle to the Galatians, which is of about the same size, or the Sermon on the Mount, of which it is an echo.

The Presbyterian
March 29 1884

THE "DOCTRINE OF THE APOSTLES."

In the *Presbyterian* of March 15th was published an extract from the *Independent* with regard to the book entitled "The Doctrine of the Apostles," lately discovered and published by the metropolitan bishop Bryennios of Nicomedia. The discovery of this long lost ancient work is an event of more than ordinary interest, and deserves a more extended notice. The fact that such a book existed in the early church had long been known through references to it in the works of Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius, and other early fathers; but until its recent discovery by Bryennios it had been supposed to be hopelessly lost. Of the edition just issued by the bishop Professor Harnack, of Giessen, has lately published a review, with a German translation of a part of the book, in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, from which we gather the following facts.

The composition of the book must be assigned to a date between 120 and 160 A. D. It therefore takes rank with the oldest writings which have come down to us from the primitive Gentile Church. In the extract from the *Independent*, previously published, it is, for example, shown conclusively that according to the writer of this book, "The Doctrine of the Apostles" did not make immersion essential to baptism. Other matters may be mentioned on which the testimony of this primitive work is of no less consequence. Thus, as regards the question of the polity of the early church, "The Doctrine of the Apostles" agrees with other authorities of the same age in recognizing no church officers but bishops (plainly not diocesan) and deacons. Much is said of the "prophets," showing that the gift of prophecy, as mentioned in the New Testament, was

not yet regarded as extinct. But these "prophets" are not represented as officers essential to the constitution of the church. The case is supposed that there might in a church be no prophet. We read also of "apostles," but they are not regarded as the special successors of the twelve—rulers over lower orders of the ministry—as the High-church theory would have it. In this work the word only denotes *travelling preachers*, a sense of the word which already appears here and there in the New Testament. (Acts xiv. 4; 2 Cor. viii. 23, *et passim*)

Once again the testimony of this witness from the primitive Gentile church is of special interest as regards the question whether, according to apostolic teaching, a millennial age of righteousness was to be anticipated before the second coming of our Lord, and whether the resurrection of the righteous is to be expected as simultaneous with that of the wicked, or is to precede the latter. As to a millennium of righteousness before the Lord shall come again the work before us, like other authorities of the second century, knows nothing. On the contrary, it describes the last days, very fully, after the manner of Paul and John, (2 Thess. ii.; 2 Tim. iii.; 1 John ii. 18, &c.) as evil days. We are told, according to Professor Harnack's translation, that in the last days "the tempter of the world will appear, as if he were the Son of God, and the world shall be delivered into his hand . . . and all mankind shall come into the fire of trial, and many shall be offended and perish." Then we read:—"Then shall appear the signs of the truth; first, the sign that the heaven shall open; then the sign of the trumpet-blast; thirdly, the resurrection of the dead—not, however, of all—but, as it is said, 'The Lord will come and *all the saints* with him.'" By this writer of the primitive Gentile church, therefore, it is explicitly taught that according to the doctrine of the apostles the resurrection of the wicked will *not* be simultaneous with that of the righteous.

One other fact brought out by this book deserves notice. Professor Harnack, in the article to which we have above referred, calls attention to the complete demonstration which the publication of this book affords, that the so-called *Apostolical Constitutions*, which have figured so much in discussions touching the doctrine and polity of the primitive church, are in fact, as had been long suspected, a corrupt and interpolated compilation of a comparatively late period. Book VII. of the *Constitutions* proves to be simply this ancient *Doctrine of the Apostles*, deliberately and systematically altered, wherever necessary, to make its

teachings support the beliefs and practice of a later age. Thus, wherever the original work has the word "prophets," the author of the *Constitutions* has substituted "priests;" in suitable places he has inserted, in addition to the words "bishops" and "deacons," the word "presbyters"—which, in the original document, does not occur—thereby passing off the three fold order of bishops, presbyters, or priests and deacons as of apostolic authority. The directions as to the administration of the sacraments are also modified by the interpolation of various Ritualistic precepts. The original reference to the mode of baptism is omitted altogether. In the above-cited passage concerning the second coming of our Lord, after the words "resurrection of the dead," the compiler of the *Constitutions* omitted the restricting phrase, "*Not, however, of all,*" adding other phrases, so as thereby to expunge the doctrine of a prior resurrection of the righteous, and bring the teaching of the primitive document into agreement with the doctrine concerning the millennium and advent which by that time had come to be generally accepted in the church.

It is with good reason that Professor Harnack remarks in his review, that "we do not possess another so elegant and instructive illustration of the art of transforming an old writing" as we have in this chap. vii. of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, with its studied and systematic alteration of this primitive *Doctrine of the Apostles*. Comment on the above facts is needless.

S. H. KELLOGG.

THE BRYENNIOS DOCUMENT AND THE ACT OF BAPTISM.

BY "PIKE."

THE lately discovered "Teaching of the Apostles" is now before the public. Does it show that the use of pouring for baptism has apostolic sanction?

Before the recent discovery, the oldest undisputed mention of the use of affusion was in the Epistle of Cyprian to Magnus, written about the year 250. Certain persons, converted in sickness, when immersion was impracticable, had received merely a pouring. It was denied that this was valid baptism and the opinion of Cyprian is asked. He answers at much length, and gives it as his judgment that, in a case of absolute necessity, pouring or sprinkling may be used for baptism. It will be seen at a glance that the ordinary baptism of that time was immersion. The question whether affusion could be accepted in case of necessity assumed that, when immersion

was practicable, the candidate was, of course, to be immersed. Pouring or sprinkling was at that time known as Clinic Baptism, and those who had received it were deemed ineligible to the higher offices of the Church. It was allowed to be irregular even by those who were willing to recognize it as valid.

Now if the opinion shall stand that the "Teaching" was written as early as the middle of the second century, and the seventh chapter be not an interpolation, we have a mention of affusion a hundred years before Cyprian. But it leaves immersion the ordinary act of baptism in the second, as it was in the third century.

The direction is to baptize "in running water" or "into other water"; "but if thou hast neither, pour water upon the head." What is the meaning of the Greek word *baptize*? When the Septuagint says that Naaman went down into the Jordan and baptized himself (ἐβαπτίσατο) we understand that he dipped himself. But if baptize means *immerse* in the Septuagint story of Naaman, we must assume, until something

is shown to the contrary, that it has that meaning in this place also. We, therefore, render the whole passage: "Now, concerning immersion, thus immerse. . . . Immerse in running water. . . . [or] into other water but if thou hast neither [in sufficient depth for immersion] pour water upon the head." The directions cover two points; first, the kind of water in which the candidate is to be immersed—viz., running water, if possible; second, the thing to be done when immersion is impossible—viz., pouring water upon the head. The "Teaching," like Cyprian's Epistle, sanctions affusion, not as the ordinary act, but only "*necessitate cogente*."

The honored editors of the Scribner edition of the "Teaching," consider the prescribed baptism "in water" to be a pouring on the head, while the subject stands ankle-deep in water. This would make the alternative to be, not between two acts—viz., baptism on the one hand, and pouring on the other, but between two positions of the candidate—viz., in water and out of water. Now it would seem strange that baptism and pouring, which are not contrasted, should both be mentioned, while of the two positions, the very things to be contrasted, only one was mentioned. If all the writer meant was, that, during the affusion, the subject should, if possible, stand in water, he certainly took a very roundabout way of saying it. Again, if the same act is referred to in both clauses, we may use the same term in both, and then we shall have: "Baptize in water; but if thou hast none, baptize," or "Pour water upon the head in running [or] into other water; but if thou hast neither, pour water upon the head." Again, while it would not be difficult to understand the words, "Immerse into water" what would be meant by "Pour water upon the head into (*etc*) other water"?

Suppose, however, that, willing to deal tenderly with polemics in straits, we conceded that the suggested construction was not absolutely inadmissible; it would still remain to be proved that it was the right one. The presumption is that the word *baptize* means the same in this passage as in the Septuagint story of Naaman. The presumption is that immersion which, as every writer allows, was the ordinary baptism in the third century, was the ordinary baptism in the second century also. Therefore, until something is adduced to set aside these presumptions, we must translate the direc-

tion before us: "Immerse, but if you cannot immerse pour water upon the head." In other words, the deliverance in the "Teaching" is the same as in Cyprian's Epistle—viz., that affusion may be resorted to, but only when immersion is impracticable.

And that, for even this limited use of affusion, the writer of the "Teaching" claimed apostolic precedent, there is no ground for declaring. Had it been known by this writer that the apostles sometimes practiced affusion, that fact would certainly have been known also to Cyprian, who lived but a century later. But Cyprian, cites no apostolic precedent for the use of affusion; he pleads merely that sprinkling is mentioned in the Old Testament. He does not claim that the validity of affusion is beyond question, but uses such diffident expressions as, "So far as my poor ability comprehends the matter" and "I have shown what I think." He is particular to say that he does not insist that others shall practice affusion; and, to crown all, he declares his willingness that those who have received affusion shall, on their recovery from sickness, be immersed. Now is it conceivable that the apostles should have used pouring for baptism and yet that fact have been unknown to the Church of the third century? Is it conceivable that it should have been known that the apostles sometimes practiced affusion, and yet its validity be denied? When Cyprian was doing his best to establish the validity of pouring, and when the mention of a single case of its use by an apostle would have put that validity beyond all question, is it conceivable that, though he knew of such cases, he should have cited not apostolic precedent, but only Old Testament usage; should have asserted its validity only in the most hesitating language; should have consented that others should condemn the ceremony by refusing to administer it; and, finally, should have declared his willingness that an affusion, which had already been administered, should be ignored by a subsequent immersion? Cyprian's epistle shows, beyond all question, that he had no knowledge that the apostles ever practiced pouring and sprinkling. And, if Cyprian had had knowledge of such a thing, the writer of the "Teaching" cannot have had any knowledge of it. Cyprian's Epistle to Magnus proving, as it does, that Cyprian had no knowledge that the apostles ever practiced sprinkling or pouring, is proof overwhelming that the apostles never did practice them. On the

other hand, as Cyprian approved the use of pouring, though he claimed no apostolic precedent for it, we see that the writer of the "Teaching" could pen the above-quoted direction without claiming any apostolic precedent for affusion.

Though the "Teaching" was apparently written at an early day, it contains many human additions to apostolic precept. It says: "Before baptism let the baptizer and the baptized fast . . . the baptized for two or three days before"; again, "Fast during the fourth and the preparation day"; and other such passages have doubtless been noted by the reader. Slavery to ritual had already begun in the Church, and from such superstition comes the direction to use pouring. In the apostolic churches, as by the Baptists of to-day, baptism was regarded as merely a symbol. Be it observed that in the Baptist churches, there is an *absolute freedom* from the superstition that water-baptism is essential to salvation. No Christian people, aside from the Friends, make so little of water-baptism as do the Baptists. They immerse when immersion is practicable; but when it is not, they omit all baptism, without the least thought that the convert's salvation is endangered thereby. No Christian people except the Friends let so many converts die unbaptized as do the Baptists. And in the apostolic churches it was the same. If the convert could not be "buried with Christ," baptism was dispensed with. But after a little, the doctrine arose that baptism was essential to salvation. And then arose a fear to let the convert die without something in the nature of water-baptism. And so in the case of the sick man or the prisoner, when immersion was impossible, they began to resort to pouring and sprinkling as being akin to immersion. Affusion and aspersion would never have been thought of in the Church but for the rise of the superstition that baptism was essential to salvation. And it is not to apostolic example, but to this superstition, that we must attribute the direction in the "Teaching," when immersion is impracticable, to "pour water upon the head."

.... The Examiner says:

"We would by no means express the opinion that the 'Teaching' is an ingenious forgery; we only say that the document needs to be better authenticated. It has been accepted with too much haste and credulity."

Will it please indicate what further authentication it desires?

Son, and of the Holy Spirit." We, therefore, feel no force whatever in the elaborate, superfluously elaborate, arguments of Baptists directed to showing that baptize meant exclusively immerse. So, undoubtedly, it did—in other applications—but in this particular application; not.

Now this is perfectly intelligible language; and this language is, in all godly sincerity, held by not a few men among us—men who are most exemplary Christians, and at the same time most unimpeachable Greek scholars. If this language is sound as well as intelligible, is sound as well as sincere in many mouths, then the position of Baptists on the point of baptism, what in its form it properly is, cannot be maintained. Is this language sound?

To the right answering of that question the Bryennios manuscript contributes, as I think, some valuable help. Indeed, I believe, and in the present paper I undertake to demonstrate, that the Bryennios manuscript by itself alone contains conclusive evidence—evidence conclusive, mark, I say—that the looser, indeterminate, "sacred" sense of the word baptize had not yet, at the date of the production of the manuscript, become established; that the word baptize then still retained its proper native force and meaning of immerse. Of course, from this, if this be made out, it will follow—and here lies the importance of the point—that, much more, the "sacred" sense was not established in New Testament times.

For, as if to make the incidental demonstration contained in the manuscript complete, at the same time that the document shows us the sacred sense of baptism evidently not yet actually established, it also shows us that sacred sense not less evidently in the incipient process of becoming established. In short, there, perhaps, could not be imagined a more entirely and ideally satisfactory exhibition of the truth as to the real sense in which Christ used the word baptize, than that exhibition which unexpectedly is brought down to us in this interesting monument of Christian antiquity. Let us examine the manuscript afresh, not now for the purpose of ascertaining what usage as to baptism was observed by those whom the document may be assumed to represent—that usage, beyond reasonable doubt, was immersion, where immersion was practicable, with pouring out of water on the head where immersion was impracticable—let us, I say, examine the Bryennios manuscript, not now for the archaeological question of current contemporary usage, but simply and only for the philological question of the current contemporary force and meaning attaching in ecclesiastical language to the term baptize. No matter, I repeat, for the moment, what the ancient writer and his brethren *did* in the way of baptism. That is not to be our present inquiry. Our present inquiry is to be, What did they *mean* when they used the word baptize? Did they mean, apply water ritually, in any suitable way that may be practicable, or did they mean immerse? The question is a simple one. It is not, What *was* the thing, baptism, for the ancient writer and his brethren? but, What to them *meant* the word baptize? If the word baptize meant to them, apply water ritually, then *perhaps* it meant that also to Jesus when he used the word. By no means certainly, even then; for the "sacred" sense may have been acquired in the interval between Christ's time and the time of the manuscript; whereas, if, on the contrary, the word meant strictly immerse, to the ancient writer with his brethren, then, not *perhaps*, but *certainly*, the word meant strictly immerse, in Christ's mouth. For the sacred sense once acquired by the word, would never be lost by it—except through accomplished return to primitive usage, which accomplished return has never yet, even up to this living moment, occurred, though it may now fairly be regarded as in the incipient process of occurring. The present paper is a humble contribution of help to that process already not obscurely observable.

Our immediate question then is, Did baptize, in the Bryennios manuscript, mean, exclusively, immerse? or did it mean, indeterminate, apply water ritually? Let us see.

Here is the language:

"And concerning baptism, baptize in this way: Having taught beforehand all these things, baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, in living water. But if thou hast not living water, baptize in other water—in warm if thou canst not do it in cold. But if thou hast neither, pour water upon the head three times in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost. But before the baptism, let the baptizer and the one (to be) baptized, and any others who can, fast; but thou shalt command the one (to be) baptized to fast one or two (days) before."

Consider, in the foregoing we have a presumably authentic ancient use of the word baptize; a use, too, occurring in a distinctively ecclesiastical document. Here, inevitably, there will be an example of the "sacred" sense, if such an example is anywhere to be found in the Greek literature of those times.

Let us suppose that the "sacred" sense, indeed, holds here, that baptize meant to the ancient writer, apply water ritually. Under this elastic definition the application might, of course, be by sprinkling. Introduce this idea, and you have a remarkable result. That result is the following:

In case water abounds, you may sprinkle water; in case water fails, you must pour out water, and pour out water thrice on the head.

Consider this, now, at your leisure. Apply to the problem your best efforts. You will find it impossible, ultimately and hopelessly impossible, to escape the foregoing reduction to absurdity. The absurdity is inextricably, unescapably involved in the logic and language of this article on baptism in the Byrennios manuscript, if the word baptize, in that ancient, ecclesiastical use of it, indeed meant, apply water ritually; if, that is to say, it meant anything else than strictly and exclusively immerse. Only suppose, however, that baptize meant immerse, and every difficulty vanishes. So simple, so self-consistent, so self-evidencing is truth when you once but get at the truth!

But here meets us an objection—an objection made in entire good faith. The objector says: Look at the foregoing article again, the whole of it—title, conclusion, and all. Do we not see that the article begins, "Concerning baptism?" Do we not see that the article ends, "Before baptism?" And is not the clause about the pouring out of water on the head, embraced thus between two uses of the word baptism, that oblige us to regard pouring out as, in the view of the writer, constituting baptism?

This is a fair question, and it shall have a fair answer. The fair answer is that the

"sacred" sense was now entered on the road toward being established. The line of exceptional cases henceforward will be indefinitely extended, until at length the exceptions will overslaugh the rule. Then the "sacred" sense will have quite supplanted the true; a result now open to universal observation. For the present, however, the exceedingly exceptional case of water failing is referred to by the ancient writer just in passing, merely by way of parenthesis. It is dismissed from thought as soon as mentioned, and the writer proceeds with choice of language uninfluenced by what in its nature and relation was purely parenthetical. In other words, the diction of the writer was here independent of his parenthetical insertion, precisely as, everywhere, the syntax of any writer is independent of such matter introduced merely by the way. The true relation to the article as a whole, of the present interjected clause, is capable of being very simply illustrated. Let it be supposed that an order is to be issued for the proper printing of enacted laws. That order might read somewhat as follows:

"Concerning the printing, thus print. Having first made the proper examinations, print in ordinary modern type. If you cannot get this, print in antique type; if you cannot in large type, then in small. (In case you have not sufficient type of any sort, write in a fair, round hand.) Before the printing, let the printer and proof-reader carefully compare the original copy."

Now here the word printing both precedes and succeeds the parenthetical mention of writing. Is, therefore, printing meant to *include* writing? Not in the least. It is simply, for a specified case, an admissible substitute for printing. That is all. If, however, it could be supposed that, through any influence, writing should gradually, for the particular purpose of preserving laws, supersede printing—the exception thus becoming the rule—then, at length, the word printing, used with reference to that purpose, might very naturally come to mean something so large and loose as to include writing, too, within its scope.

A fortune like this has actually befallen the word baptize in ecclesiastical use. But that fortune had not yet befallen the word when the Bryennios manuscript was produced. This is inexpugnably proved by the absurdity that flows from supposing the contrary. Here the absurdity is. Face it again: If there is plenty of water, you are permitted to sprinkle; if the water is scant, you are bound to pour.

This result, I repeat, irrepressibly issues from regarding the word baptize, in the Bryennios manuscript, as meaning anything else than immerse. The word baptize, therefore, means there nothing else than that. Immerse is thus shown to have been, at the date of this document, still the one exclusive meaning of baptize. Much more was immerse the one exclusive meaning of the word baptize, when Christ lived on the earth, and when he used the word to enjoin his holy rite. The "sacred" sense of the term is accordingly a subsequent growth, and a growth springing from usage not conformed to the ordinance of Christ.

If this is not so, let some one show me how it is not so, how escape may be had from that reduction to absurdity which I once more submit:

For baptism, sprinkling of water will answer, if Jordan rolls at your feet; pouring out of water is imperative, if you have but a tumblerful at command.

An absurdity which I assert to be inseparably—inseparably is the strong word I confidently employ—inseparably bound up with the supposition that baptize meant in the Bryennios manuscript anything else than immerse. Immerse, therefore, baptize did mean, to this ancient writer, and yet more to Christ.

"In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

"Ye are my friends if ye do whatever I command you."

TARRYTOWN, N. Y.

THE Rev. A. C. Burrows, of Kent, O., gives his view of Professor Wilkinson's *reductio ad absurdum* last week:

I have "considered" Professor Wilkinson's article "at my leisure." I confess, however, that I am not sure that I have "applied to the problem my best efforts." I am inclined to husband my resources for some harder problem. The only way to test such a matter of interpretation is to substitute the supposed interpretation for the word under examination, wherever it occurs. Perhaps Professor Wilkinson has enough leisure left to consider such a substitution for the word "baptize" of the old, familiar meaning so often exhibited in art—"to pour water upon the head of a person who stands in water." This is a long phrase to substitute, and it will make an ugly sentence. But the meaning will be clear. If the idea, the picture presented to the mind, the "thing meant" by the writer of the "Teaching," when he "used the word baptize," was this, he wrote clearly, logically, without confession, when he said: "Concerning the pouring of water upon the head of a man standing in water, thus do it. Pour water upon his head in the name, etc., while he stands in living water. But if thou hast not living water, pour water upon his head while he stands in other water—in warm, if thou canst not in cold. But if thou hast neither, pour water thrice in the name, etc.,"—i.e.,

pour water in this last case, although there is not water enough to stand in. "But before the pouring of the water," etc.

"So simple, so self-consistent, so self-evidencing is truth, when you once but get at the truth!"

SUPPOSE we try our hand with Professor Wilkinson, on a modern variation of the section on baptism in the Bryennios manuscript. Suppose it be a case of a law requiring all intentions of marriage to be published. Let it read as follows:

Concerning the publishing, thus publish. Having first got the license, publish in the village paper. If you cannot do this, publish in the county paper; if you cannot in the Republican paper, then in the Democratic. In case there is no paper, then affix a notice on the church door. Before publishing, be sure you have the parents' consent.

Professor Wilkinson will say—we merely apply his argument—if *publish* has the technical sense of making public and not of printing in a newspaper, then it may mean to proclaim by town crier. "Introduce this idea, and you have a remarkable result. That result is the following":

In case newspapers abound, you may employ the town crier. In case newspapers fail, you must affix notice to the church door.

"Consider this now at your leisure." (We quote Professor Wilkinson.) "You will find it impossible, ultimately and hopelessly impossible, to escape the foregoing reduction to absurdity." The "reduction" is an absurdity, simply because the method applied is illogical.

.... "Hillside," about whom there is the suspicion of a theological professor, writes to *The Examiner* from Boston or vicinity, about the Bryennios document:

"Voltaire once made himself the sport of European scholars by excessive haste in indorsing a Hindu forgery as a complete refutation of the Bible. It would be humiliating to American Pedobaptist scholars, if they should be found in a similar dilemma, after their hasty exultation over the Baptists."

There is no danger. But why should Baptists get on the wrong side of this matter? It is a great deal better policy to accept heartily the facts of criticism and not seem so terribly anxious lest something shall show them wrong. We see no reason why Baptists should quarrel with the "Teaching." Indeed it is a pretty fair Baptist document. Certainly it gives no help to "Pedobaptists."

NOT A FORGERY.

THOSE writers and journals which had critical discernment enough not to be thrown off their balance by that very ill-considered Constantinople letter in the *Boston Advertiser*, throwing suspicion on the integrity of Bishop Bryennios and the authenticity of the "Teaching of the Apostles," discovered by him, can take comfort to themselves in a discovery, the account of which has just reached this country, and

which proves the impossibility of any forgery. The absolute absence of any proof of forgery, and the absolute unanimity of all good scholars in accepting the new discovery ought to have made intelligent people careful about accepting the suggestions of the *Advertiser* correspondent. But there are a great many people who do not know enough to tell a scholar from an ignoramus. To them this anonymous Constantinople writer, who was allowed to accompany President Washburn and Professor Long, when they went a second time to take a photograph of the right page, is as good authority as Harnack or Funk, or Zahn, or Hilgenfeld or Wordsworth. They do not see how impossible it would be to deceive such men. And when we instantly replied to the injurious words that we had letters from both President Washburn and Professor Long, written after they had made this second attempt, and that they intimated no suspicion of the genuineness of the manuscript, but only blamed the pig-headedness of the custodian who could not read a word of it, our correction could not overtake the original slander. A score of papers, whose editors had sectarian reasons for wishing to discredit the "Teaching," spread abroad the suspicion and declared that American scholars and journals had been too hasty in accepting the document, and then reminded us solemnly of the Shapira forgeries. These writers have no conception of the utter impossibility that the forgery of such a document could escape detection.

It is for the utter annihilation of these cavilers, who cannot understand the internal evidence involved, and who do not know enough to trust the verdict of scholars, because, as we have said, they cannot tell a scholar when they see him, and have not the wisdom to accept the judgment of those who do have this faculty of recognizing scholarship, that we give this piece of conclusive evidence just brought to our knowledge in the second part of Harnack's edition of the "Teaching."

Harnack's senior associate in the editorship of the series of volumes entitled, "Texts and Investigations in the History of Old Christian Literature," of which his edition of the "Teaching" is a part, is the distinguished scholar, Oscar von Gebhardt. In reading Martin Kropff's "Bibliotheca Mellicensis," published in 1747, he discovered a reference to a treatise in Latin, entitled "Teaching of the Apostles," which had been entirely overlooked by scholars.

It was an account of a manuscript of the twelfth century, belonging to that library which contained a sermon of St. Boniface entitled "*De Abrenuntiatione in Baptismo*." The account continues: "On the last page is found 'Teaching of the Apostles,' but imperfect. It begins: There are two ways in the world, of life and of death, of light and of darkness, etc." Von Gebhardt saw that this was probably a Latin translation of the "Teaching," and he set to work to find it. He wrote to the librarian of the library for the manuscript, and received the reply that it was no longer there and could not be traced. Then he looked up the sermons of St. Boniface and found that this sermon "*De Abrenuntiatione*," is No. 15 in his collected writings, was first published by Martene in 1733, and the copy printed is by him credited to the courtesy of one Bernhard Pez. Now Pez was the custodian of this very library, and it was probably from this very manuscript that the printed copy was taken. This sent Von Gebhardt to the writings of Pez; and in the rubbish of his forgotten "*Thesaurus Anecdotorum*" it was found that Pez had published this sermon of Boniface's and appended to it all that was found of the "Teaching of the Apostles." And here we give it below, translated from the Latin, as it was written in a twelfth century manuscript and printed a hundred and fifty years ago.

"There are two ways in the world, of life and of death, of light and of darkness.

"Over these are set two angels, one of righteousness, the other of unrighteousness.

"And the difference is great between the two ways. The way of life, then, is this: First, thou shalt love the eternal God who made thee. Second, thy neighbor as thyself. And all which thou wouldst not have done to thee do not thou to another.

"And the interpretation of these things is this: Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not commit murder, thou shalt not speak false witness, thou shalt not corrupt boys, thou shalt not commit fornication . . . thou shalt not compound poisons, thou shalt not kill a child by abortion, nor destroy one already born. Thou shalt not covet anything of thy neighbor's. Thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not speak evil. Thou shalt not be mindful of evil deeds. Thou shalt not be double in giving counsel, nor double-tongued; for the tongue is a snare of death. Thy word shall not be empty nor false. Thou shalt not be covetous, nor grasping, nor rapacious, nor a flatterer, nor . . ."

That this is part of a translation of the

"Teaching," is perfectly evident. It has the same title, and, so far as it goes, is a very fair translation, as will be seen by comparisons. It could not have come from the Seventh Book of the Apostolic Constitutions, nor from the many-named "Constitutions of Clement" ("Epitome," "Coptic Constitutions," "Syrian Constitutions," "*Dux Viæ*," "Judgment of Peter"), nor from Barnabas or Hermas, or any other similar source, but can only be a translation of this very Greek "Teaching of the Apostles" which Bryennios has just published. The integrity of Bryennios, unsuspected by any decent scholar, is thus surprisingly confirmed by this forgotten fragment of a Latin translation printed a hundred and fifty years ago from a manuscript seven hundred years old. We trust that those who have given currency to the suspicion will make haste to undo the injury.

It has been both amusing and provoking to observe how that Constantinople letter in the *Boston Advertiser*, throwing suspicion on the manuscript of the "Teaching of the Apostles" discovered by Bryennios, has been seized upon by a number of people who are delighted to spread abroad its insinuations, and who are not restrained by their complete ignorance of the subject. It is in just those two denominations whose extreme tenets have seemed to some to be discredited by the "Teaching" that this unseemly haste to believe it a forgery without one scintilla of evidence, and against all evidence, has occurred. We mentioned last week that letters received by us from President Washburn and Professor Long, with whom the *Advertiser* correspondent went to examine the manuscript, suggested no suspicion of anything more than the pigheadedness of the ignorant official in charge, who could not read the manuscript and was willful and stupid enough to insist that the last page of the manuscript, of which a photograph had been taken, was part of the "Teaching." Prof. E. C. Smyth has now written a letter to *The Advertiser*, in which he has shown clearly enough the impossibility of the thing's being a forgery. There is a certain indecency about the suggestion, whether made in Constantinople, or repeated and indorsed by *The Churchman*, *The Examiner*, *The Watchman* and other papers, which deserves attention. What would these papers say if some distinguished scholar in their own denominations, if they had one as thoroughly learned in patristic literature as the Bishop of Nicomedia, or if Professor Richey or Osgood or Long or Lincoln were publicly posted as having very likely forged the authorities they are quoting? There would be some indignation. But it is not a bit less an offense in the case of Bryennios. He is no unknown man, but a graduate of a German university, and known for many years for his

important work in patristic science. If "Teaching" is a forgery, then his Edition of Clement is based on a forgery; and in the same manuscript volume, in the same hand. But it is simply ridiculous for writers, who never read the Greek of the Apostles of Clement or of one of the Visions of Hermas, to venture to fling about these unfounded imputations, when not a competent scholar of Germany, England, France, or America, has any question on the subject, though a dozen have studied the matter thoroughly. We would like to suggest to our hasty friends that when there is a forgery made it is not the scholars who swallow it, and the ignoramuses who discover it.

Insolent — "EASY CREDULITY." — Aug. 7-1894

THE *New York Times* has an amusing editor, who has shown himself greatly troubled because the "Teaching of the Apostles," discovered by Bryennios, does not recognize the hierarchical order in the Church which was fully developed into separate orders of bishops, priests, and deacons during the second and third centuries. He has evidently been coached by some stiff high churchman who cannot bear the idea that the episcopal order, as it now exists, did not come fresh minted from the hand of our Saviour himself; and, some time ago, he made this the basis of a suspicion of the genuineness of the "Teaching," ignorant of the fact that it has now been long agreed by the best ecclesiastical scholars of all Christian bodies, Episcopal and non-Episcopal, that the bishops were originally identical with elders or pastors, and that gradually a distinct order was created by the prominence assumed by a presiding elder, or bishop.

The *Times* writer has at last found a little comfort, which he is quick to seize, in a letter to the *Boston Advertiser*, by a correspondent in Constantinople, who went with the party of gentlemen who attempted to get a photograph of a page of the manuscript of the "Teaching," which is in a convent in that city. They took a photograph of the last page of the volume containing the "Teaching," and not being themselves expert palæographers, supposed they had a photograph of a page of the "Teaching" itself; and a copy of that photograph was sent to us. When they came to examine the developed photograph, however, they found, what a careful reading of Bryennios would have told them, that the "Teaching" was not at the end of the volume, but occupied a few pages in

the middle of the book. They back to the monastery for the photographing the right ignorant monk in charge who already had the right thing, not allow them to take the picture. A member of the party on the last occasion writes the letter to the *Advertiser*, in which he suggests that there may have been special reasons why the monk deceived them the first time, and afterward refused to let them take a picture, though he did allow them to see and personally examine the volume at leisure. The correspondent says that, if there were any forgery, which he is careful not to say he believes, there is no man more competent to execute it cleverly, from his great knowledge of the early Church writings, than this Bryennios. The *Times* editor is delighted with this suggestion, and accepts it as a proved fact, and heads his article "Easy Credulity."

Our readers will know better than to accept a word of this suspicion. The two gentlemen who attempted to secure the photograph were President Washburn and Professor Long. We have received letters from both of these gentlemen (and no one in the East has a more thorough acquaintance with Oriental character), and neither of them entertains the least suspicion of the good faith of Bishop Bryennios. It is a mere case of that stubborn pigheadedness which is characteristic of ignorant officials nowhere more than in the Orient.

The *Times* writer has never read the "Teaching." He says there is in it an "absence of any mention of Bishops (with a capital B). The fact is they are mentioned freely. It is presbyters that are not mentioned, because they are the same as bishops. It is further made a suspicious circumstance that the manuscript has not been sent to Germany to be examined by European scholars. It is, however, accessible to them when they come to see it, and all the collations Harnack has asked for have been freely given by correspondence; and further, not one of the distinguished patristic scholars of Germany who have written on the subject has intimated a suspicion of its genuineness; neither Harnack, nor Hilgenfeld, nor Zahn, nor Funk. The internal evidence is abundant and striking, and is related to so many little points that it would puzzle a congress of the most astute scholars to forge so genuine-looking a document. Besides, we would like to have our lover of bishops tell us what possible motive a Greek bishop could have for forg-

ing a document which, as the *Times* editor says, "denied the authority of Bishops."

The *Times* adds:

"To these suspicious circumstances should be added the fact that the pretended manuscript was discovered in a library in Constantinople which has been ransacked scores of times, and which contains only about 600 manuscripts. It is in the highest degree improbable that the keen hunters who had examined again and again this small number of manuscripts should never have discovered the 'Teaching' if it was really among them."

The airy tone of this paragraph makes it only the play of a day or two to go over "this *small* number of manuscripts." It is, on the other hand, a large number, and it is not probable that they have ever been thoroughly examined, so as to know what little treatise may be concealed in a large volume in a difficult hand, filled chiefly with well-known or worthless monkish works which do not need collation. The argument denies the possibility of any new discoveries of lost manuscripts.

April 2nd 1865
THE *Times*, of this city, is allowing somebody to write nonsense in its editorial columns about the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." A recent article tries to prove the document a forgery, by showing that it is non-committal on the two most important questions which divide Catholics and Protestants, the Eucharist and the Priesthood. The "Teaching" does not indicate whether it regards the Eucharist as a sacrifice or a symbol; nor is it clear on the question of the orders of the priesthood. This is "precisely what a clever forger of the 'Teaching' would do." He would "avoid answering old questions in such a way as to make it necessary for either Catholics or Protestants to prove his work a forgery." This argument simply is, reduced to its naked absurdity, that, in order to prove the Gospel of John, for example, a forgery, you have only to assume that the forger would have written just as John has written! He would be very clumsy, indeed, at forgery who would write the "Teaching" in such a way as to decide the questions which separate Catholics and Protestants. The document, in other words, bears marks of the first century, therefore it is to be looked upon with suspicion. Another suspicious circumstance is that Bryennios will not "permit any one to see the manuscript." He hasn't "shown the original manuscript, which he claims to have found, to any one," and when to this is added the "curious fact" that no one ever found the manuscript before, the case seems to be about complete against the Metropolitan of Nicomedia. The *Times* writer implies that Bryennios has the manuscript in his possession. He shows it to nobody, he permits nobody to see it. The fact

is that the manuscript is not in his hands, it is in the library where he found it; that he is not its custodian nor the custodian of the library; that the library is not under his ecclesiastical control; and, furthermore, that, owing to a difficulty between the Patriarch and himself, he is not free even to enter Constantinople; he is practically exiled to Nicomedia. One of the daily papers of this city conclusively proved to its own satisfaction, some years since, that Stanley did not find Livingstone, and that Livingstone's letters, forwarded through Stanley, were forgeries. The *Times* is engaged in a task quite as promising.

iv, 18—18, our document may, after all, only be emphasizing the resurrection of the righteous.

It is freely admitted that Premillenarianism is not "taught" in the chapter referred to. But is it too much to claim that, the editors themselves being witnesses, it is *suggested*? If not, why was the note written?

In point of fact nothing is directly taught in the document concerning a Millennium (by that name) at any period, either before or after the Second Advent. But it must be evident to every careful reader that the teaching is utterly inconsistent with the now prevalent doctrine concerning the Millennium—namely, that it is to precede the coming of the Lord.

The last chapter begins with the exhortation: "Watch for your life's sake; let your lamps not go out, and your loins not be relaxed, but be ready; for ye know not the hour in which our Lord cometh." There is no interjection here of an earthly period of righteousness and blessedness before the Advent. On the contrary, "the last days" are described, immediately afterward, as those of abounding iniquity and distress; after which are set forth the signs of the Advent, the resurrection of the righteous dead, and the Advent itself.

Now it is literally true that, in all this, "Premillenarianism is not directly taught"; but it is just as true, that Post-millenarianism is most certainly, though, of course, impliedly denied. But the editors also declare that Premillenarianism is "perhaps not even indirectly taught." So far it may be remarked, as the mere text of the chapter under consideration is concerned, *perhaps not*; but, let it be observed, the only alternative is the implication that there is to be no Millennium.

It was said above that the Millennium, by that name, is not mentioned in the document; but it is by no means certain that it is not mentioned under another title. In the Eucharistic chapters (ix and x) the following petitions occur: "Just as this broken bread was scattered over the hills; and having been gathered together became one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy KINGDOM"; and again, "Remember, Lord, thy Church, to deliver it from every evil and to make it perfect in thy love, and to gather it from the four winds, *it*, the sanctified, into thy KINGDOM, which thou hast prepared for it; for thine is the power and the glory forever. Let grace come and let this world (*κόσμος*) pass away. . . . Maranatha [Our Lord cometh]. Amen." Now it is demonstrable, in my judgment, from the Scriptures and from Ante-Nicene writings, that the term KINGDOM was never applied to the Church of the present age previous to the establishment of the Church by the Emperor Constantine, but that it was always used to designate what is now generally styled the Millennium.

It is not designed in the present paper, to attempt the demonstration of the position taken. To do so, in view of the prevailing judgment of the Church, would require a treatise rather than a newspaper article. Attention, however, will be called to the following facts. In the first place, the Kingdom mentioned in chapters ix and x of the "Teaching," is not the Church in the condition in which it existed in the second century; it is, manifestly, the one into which she is to be gathered at the coming of the Lord. Apparently it is the one contemplated in the eschatological discourse of Jesus, recorded Matt. xxiv, xxv; Mark xiii; Luke xxi. (See especially Luke xxi, 31, and Matt. xxv, 1, where the term "Kingdom" is introduced.) In the second place, the authors of the "Teaching," in the petitions of chapters ix and x, and in the declarations of chapter xvi, apparently had in view the discourse of our Lord, just referred to. Not only is the exhortation "Watch, therefore; for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come" (Matt. xxiv, 42; xxv, 13) substantially reproduced; but the order of events, culminating in the advent and the establishment of the Kingdom, is apparently the same as that set forth therein.

In conclusion, attention will be briefly called to the final sentence of the note under consideration. Did the editors intend to assert therein that, in Matt. xxiv, 31 and I Thess. iv, 13—18 our Lord and the apostle were "only emphasizing the resur-

rection of the righteous?" Most certainly their declaration may be so understood. If such was their meaning, in answer it may be said, that, while the Scriptures referred to, considered in themselves, will bear the interpretation given them, even as the words of our Lord, "My Father is greater than I," considered in themselves, may be interpreted as consistent with Socinianism, yet, in comparison with other Scriptures, that interpretation is, to say the least, doubtful. Those passages, in order to our appreciation of their full meaning, must be viewed in connection with others, such as the following: (1.) That both our Lord and the Apostle Paul speak of a special resurrection of the righteous, which is to be striven after, and which they designate as *from the dead* (*ἐκ νεκρῶν*) (Luke xx, 35; Phil. iii, 11), the preposition indicating the raising of only a portion of the dead. (2.) That the Apostle Paul, who believed in a resurrection of *all* the dead, "both of the just and unjust" (Acts xxiv, 15) speaks of different *orders* in the resurrection—"Christ the first fruits, afterwards they that are Christ's at his coming" (1 Cor. xv, 22, 23); (it is true that he mentions only the first and the second "order," leaving the third to be inferred; but the first and second are manifestly separated by millennia, and the implication is that the resurrection of the third order occurs at "the end," vers. 24.) (3.) That the Apostle John declares (Rev. xx, 4-6) that there are to be two resurrections, separated by an interval of a thousand years (hence the term *Millennium*), the subjects of the *first* being possessed of the characteristics of those mentioned in Matt. xxiv, 31, I Thess. iv, 13-18, I Cor. xv, 23, and those also mentioned in Luke xx, 35 and Phil. iii, 11, who are specified as being raised *from the dead*. In view of these facts, is it not questionable whether Matt. xxiv, 31, and I Thess. iv, 13-18, may "only be emphasizing the resurrection of the righteous"? Is it not, to say the least, possible, that, in "following the lead of the New Testament," the authors of the "Teaching" intended to set forth a resurrection of the righteous, separated by the period of the Kingdom (that is, in the language of the present day, the Millennium) from the final resurrection?

NEWARK, N. J.

RECENT EDITIONS OF "THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES."*

Ignatius *April 16 1885*
Messrs. Hitchcock and Brown were first in the field with an American edition of "The Teaching of the Apostles"; and at that time they expressed their purpose of issuing a larger and better edition early in the Autumn of 1884. Meanwhile, many an edition, translation, discussion, and criticism went forth, exhibiting all degrees of fitness and wisdom on the part of their authors, with the general result that Bryennios, in his *editio princeps*, had reaped the field pretty thoroughly as to the facts, and left the gleanings mostly in the line of reasoning and conclusions. Harnack prepared the fullest edition in Germany, and Hilgenfeld the most bold and brilliant one. The English mostly waited, producing a few essays and translations that were able enough in talking about the "Teaching," but mediocre in their direct handling of it. The Frenchmen generally followed the lead of some one or another author in another country, with but little independent work. The Scandinavians worked with some independence. The Americans generally waited for the promised larger editions, and contented themselves with some special treatises of uncommon ability on particular points connected with the document, while the periodicals—especially the religious weeklies—teemed with essays of the sort that usually greet a nine days' wonder. Some denominational partisans ventured the gratuitous suggestion that the whole was a forgery by Bryennios, but without bringing to their unconscious satire a tithe of the convincing power of Whately's "Historic Doubts" respecting the existence of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Concerning the antiquity of the document, and the substantial integrity of the manuscript in which it is preserved, there is a pretty close agreement among all the scholars of every country; the majority, in England, Germany, America, and elsewhere, assigning it to a time about, the close of the first century, and the minority, who suppose it subsequent to the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas, putting it at various dates—but none later than A. D. 165. As to the country of its origin, scholars are divided between Palestine or Syria, and Egypt; one of the reasons for choosing the latter country being that the separation between the office of bishop and presbyter, and the supremacy of the former, was of later growth in Egypt than in Palestine or Syria. Among the reasons for the early date are the citations and quotations of the "Teaching" by Irenæus, by Clement of Alexandria, by Tertullian, and others, down to Eusebius (and later as far as Nicephorus) and the internal evidence of the document itself. As Wordsworth and Canon Spence showed, it marks a transition period, when the office of apostle, even in the lower sense, was disappearing, when the "teacher," in the original higher

sense, was beginning to be a thing of the past, and when the New Testament "prophet" was already a rarity, esteemed above the stated bishops and deacons; which last two still remained the only stated and permanent offices in the Church, the presbyter being still apparently identical with the bishop, though the two were soon to be differentiated, and their former identity almost forgotten by Ignatius and Tertullian. The "omissions" of the "Teaching" speak in such a way that they cannot be mistaken, as may be seen by reading the prolegomena to Harnack's edition, or the Excursus I, II, and IX, of the edition of Canon Spence. Its unconscious ear-marks of antiquity, too, are manifold—in its language, its coincidences and in the impress of its time throughout.

On the other hand, the assumption of a forgery by Bryennios involves his stultifying himself in his ecclesiastical position and theological tenets, rests on no basis that would command respect in a lawsuit for fifty dollars, and is coupled, wherever it appears, with ignorance or faulty representation of the facts of his connection with the document, and a desire to bolster up some peculiar views or prepossessions. Bryennios had as strong reasons, and, in some respects, the same reasons, for rejecting the document as those who suggest that he forged it.

The new and enlarged edition of Hitchcock and Brown is in every way a great improvement upon their former one, as a work of deliberation and thoroughness is better than a work of haste. It bears everywhere the marks of conscientiousness. The translation, though based upon the previous one, has been purged of its former inaccuracies, and, however taste may vary as to the style of the translation and its expressions, it is faithful and correct. Abundant use has been made of the work of others, as was to be expected, and the bees have made very good honey. But it is in the introduction and notes that the chief labor appears. As to date, the editors assign it to about the close of the first century, and yet do not feel that there is any need for being strenuous about a date so very early. They believe, with the majority of critics, that the document is prior to the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas, with full respect, however, for scholars who put those treatises first in time. (Of course, the three writings are not independent; and those who would make the "Teaching" a late treatise have the same quarrel with Barnabas and Hermas, as well as with the "Two Ways"). They incline to the opinion that the country of the "Teaching" was Egypt, giving an array of reasons which they think cannot be shown for any other country.

Their introduction is very full and thorough, leaving perhaps only one portion of the ground that might be better covered in a work of its scale—viz., the connection with the apostolic canons and constitutions; but no com-

plaint can reasonably be made of neglect, considering the size of the treatise. The limit of expansion had to be fixed somewhere. The introduction contains twelve sections, in which are discussed the codex in which the "Teaching" was discovered; the integrity of the text; the history of the treatise in the early Church; modern discussions before Bryennios; the sources, arrangement of matter, purpose and scope, and doctrine of the "Teaching"; the constitution of the churches according to its testimony; its date and place of composition; and, finally, the peculiarities of the codex, and the printed texts. Less full than the prolegomena of Harnack, it yet produces for the first time in English a number of matters and documents that are to be welcomed. The parallels with Barnabas, Hermas, the apostolic canons and constitutions are set forth in a way easily taken in by the eye. Krawutzcky's "Two Ways," as produced by critical conjecture before the "Teaching" was discovered, is given entire, in English, with the differences from the "Teaching" marked by appropriate type. The "apostle" and the "prophet" of the "Teaching" are passed over a little too summarily. In the tables, which show the peculiarities of the printed texts, a little too much importance is given to the work of Curry; for that was merely a reprint of Orris's (in the "Journal of Christian Philosophy"), italics, punctuation, and all, with only the insertion of a few bracketed explanatory words (and those not always correct), one change of a word, and a few changes in the spelling.

The notes are the result of much labor, valuable in many directions, and always careful to record the character of the vocabulary, with reference to classic, New Testament, or Septuagint Greek diction. Rarely a note goes against the translation; as, *e. g.*, that respecting Chapter i, line 15. The translation reads: "And ye shall have no enemy"; but, according to the sentiment of the note, it should read: "And ye will have no enemy." The notes on Chapter vii are uncompromising in the matter of baptism, and squarely take the ground that to baptize, in the New Testament, means to "apply water as a symbolic purifying act," and quotes with approbation the words of Lightfoot, to the effect that the word "baptisms," properly and strictly, is not to be taken of *dipping* or *plunging*, but, in respect of some things, of *washing* only, and in respect of others, of *sprinkling* only." The notes on baptism occupy some four pages, and remind us of some hot controversies of forty years ago. The notes are incomparably fuller and better than in the first edition. They express, of course, the author's views. It should be said that the introduction is the work of Dr. Brown, and the notes that of Dr. Hitchcock, while the translation rests on the joint responsibility of the two. The notes close with a list of words not found in the New Testament, or not used therein in the same sense.

The Appendix, mainly furnished by the courtesy of Dr. Schaff (who is shortly to bring out an edition of the "Teaching" himself), consists of

a "digest of the Didache literature." This includes editions and translations, with the more important essays on the subject. Bracketed additions are made by Professor Brown. This portion is, perhaps, unique, as it is valuable; and it fills thirteen pages. The whole book is a pretty comprehensive and conscientious edition, intended to cover the ground as a general text and commentary edition from the scholarly and Christian points of view.

The work of Canon Spence, which has but just reached this country, is likewise a scholarly affair; but it does not, apparently, aim at being a thorough treatise on every point. Its position in the Didache literature is quite peculiar, giving a new look at the subject, with such a deal of freshness that it is readable and profit-

able, not only to the Englishmen, who, with almost national inertia, have neglected the "Teaching," but even to those who have been careful to exhaust every edition and treatise procurable. The book begins with the English translation, and ends with the Greek text. The peculiarity of the notes, among editions in English, is the abundance of patristic quotations and material. The translation and notes need more and fuller specimen quotations to show their character than our space will allow; yet some things may be cited. For the passive *διδόσθαι* (Chapter i) an active rendering is employed. In the same chapter we have the rendering: "Let thine alms drop like sweat into thine hands so long as (or, until) thou knowest to whom to give. In Chapter iv, *κυριότης* is rendered "the glory of the Lord," and annotated as if that were a literal translation. In the same chapter, *καλὸς ἀνταποδότης* is translated "noble Giver of the reward."

Nor should we here pass over his note on a portion of Chapter vii: "While considerable license was permissible in the description of water used—running or other water, while immersion or aspersion were alike sanctioned—the use of the Baptismal Formula given by the Son—in the name of the ever-blessed Trinity—is declared here to be absolutely necessary for the validity of the rite." On the subject of baptism the author also quotes from Hitchcock and Brown's earlier edition. It should also be said that, in Chapter viii, the term "hypocrites" is regarded as a direct reference to "Pharisees"; and this, with many other indications, rather strong in the aggregate, is taken as pointing to a Jewish-Christian origin of the "Teaching." In Chapter x, the rendering "gather her, now made holy, from the four winds, into thy kingdom," uses the same expedient of changing the order of words, instead of expressing the (un-idiomatic in English) article, that was employed in an early American translation; and doubtless with more correctness than those who consider "the sanctified" as a distinctive epithet. In "Christ-trafficker" (Chapter xii), another American lead is followed, with a change of word. In Chapter xiv, we have the singular rendering, "the Lord's Lord's day," not the remark that the seeming tautology is *not* present in the original

Greek. A note in Chapter xv remarks the "transitional" character of the ministry, concerning which, in the "Teaching" "a gap in our knowledge" is "supplied just as we should expect, that is to say, we have a description of the transition from the state of things described in the Acts and the Epistles of Paul" to "that presupposed in the Ignatian Epistles."

But it is in the nine "Excursus" (the canon uses the Latin plural) that the remarkable things are summed up. Among other things they give the early history of the patristic citations of the "Teaching," and a brief account of each Father who quoted or cited it, with the date of his literary activity. The author concludes that the "Teaching" dates from the time when the "prophet" was the principal person of influence in the Christian community, and, while the power of the [Episcopal] bishops is just dawning. Also, the "Teaching" must have issued from a Jewish-Christian center"; and he makes a rather long argument to show that its place was probably Pella, among the Jewish refugees; and that it is one of three writings (of widely different characters) of the Jewish school; the others being the Epistle of James, and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. Its testimony to the canon of the New Testament is considered explicit as to Matthew and Luke, and implicit as to John and the Epistle to the Romans, as well as to others of the Pauline Epistles. The use of the Old Testament is such as to show a Jewish origin, and the allusions to wine-press oil, and the like, show a village origin rather than one in a city like Alexandria, Antioch, or Corinth. Very fresh and enlivening, and generally valuable, is all that the author has to say about the relation of the "Teaching" to Barnabas and Hermas, and about the state of the Church as shown in the patristic citations (in the notes and as) summed up in Excursus V. The citations represent the wide extent of the world, and most of the schools of training. Yet freshest and most suggestive are the remarks on the "apostles," the "prophets," the "teachers" and the "bishops and deacons." Each of these heads fills a separate Excursus, which cannot be read without interest; and the interest is greatly enhanced by the fact that the utterances are those of an open-minded and scholarly dignitary of the Church of England. Excursus IX, on the "Bishops and Deacons," is specially noteworthy, as the following quotation will show: "Nor need we inquire why these two orders, bishops and deacons, alone are mentioned, to the exclusion of the order of presbyters; for, in the language of the apostolic age, to which this writing of the 'Teaching of the Apostles' belongs, the bishop and the presbyter were identical." [Here Canon Spence cites numerous passages from the Epistles and Acts to show this fact.] "As late as the last decade of the first century, in the Epistle of Clement of Rome, the terms bishop and presbyter were still convertible." "The rise of the Episcopal power," he goes on to say, "place early in the second century. The

transition was gradual.

In view of all this, we are prepared to find Canon Spence assigning the "Teaching" to the last quarter of the first century. But, he had already taken that position and stated it to be that of the majority of scholars, in a stirring sermon ("The Old Paths,") on the "Teaching of the Apostles," preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, in London, June 22d, 1884, which he has added at the end of the Excursus in this book.

The value of Canon Spence's edition is not in its new matter, for of that there is not so much; but its manner of presentation, its amplifying on certain peculiar points in the last few Excursus, its putting the old knowledge in a new light, not to mention the standpoint of its author, and the key-note he strikes, make it a very alluring book. The undertone is that of Christian love, looking back to any and every light of the "old paths," and insisting that the choice of the "two ways" is as destitute now as ever of a third alternative.

Three pages of the Bryennios Manuscript have been reproduced by photography by the Publication Agency of Johns Hopkins University, and edited with notes by J. Rendel Harris, Associate Professor of New Testament Greek and Palæography. Only one hundred and twenty-five copies have been printed. The pages include the last verses of the Epistle of Barnabas, the superscription and opening of the first Epistle of Clement, the close of the second Epistle of Clement, the first verses of the "Teaching of the Apostles," the last verses of the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans, the catalogue of the Old Testament books (Hebrew roughly represented in Greek letters, and the Greek equivalents), and the beginning of the genealogy of Joseph, the husband of Mary. Above this last fragment is the scribe's date, eleventh day of June in the indiction 9, and year 6564 (of the world), answering to A.D. 1056. The introductory note to this publication is by Pres. D. C. Gilman, stating that the photographs were obtained by the Rev. Charles R. Hale, D.D., of Baltimore, some three months ago. The notes of Professor Harris are chiefly confined to matters connected with these pages, and are ably done. Facing each photographic page is its transcription in ordinary Greek type, done with ability and accuracy. On page C (fol. 120, a), line 3, his reading is probably wrong in inserting $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ before $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, though there is some slight color for the insertion. Professor Harris takes occasion to correct a mistake or two of former editors. His remarks about the punctuation need to be taken *with*, not against Bryennios.

Appended are two pages of notes on the catalogue of Old Testament writings, by Mr. Cyrus Adler, a student in the Semitic Seminary of the University, able, and quite in place for readers and students, and as a complement to this work, though superfluous to a biblical critic.

[J. H. Hall?]

Independent 1885-6.54

THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES IN FRANCE.*

France has produced a few good essays upon the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," notably one by L. Massebieu in 1884, in *La Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, another, by the same, in *Le Temoignage*, February, 1885, and a series of eight papers by Paul Sabatier (now pastor of *l'église Saint Nicolas*, in Strassburg), in successive numbers of *L'Eglise Libre*, in 1884. Less important, but worth a passing mention, are articles by l'Abbe L. Duchesne in the *Bulletin Critique*; a series by E. Menegoz, in *Le Temoignage*; a long compilation of matter from other sources, by G. Bonnet Maury, partly in the *Critique Philosophique* and partly in the *Critique Religieuse*; an essay by E. de Muralt, in the *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*; a dissertation chiefly on the origin of the episcopal office, by S. Mathieu, in the *Revue de Théologie*, of Montauban; a paper by "M. C." in *La Renaissance*, on the organization of the Primitive Church; an anonymous article in *La Semaine Religieuse*, of Geneva; and an article by Jean Réville in the *Renaissance*. But it is only within a few weeks that a real edition of the "Teaching," with the Greek text translation, notes and commentary, has appeared in France. This is the work of Paul Sabatier, author of the series of articles above mentioned, that appeared last year in *L'Eglise Libre*.

The result is one worth the delay. It is by no means, as some of the French essays were, a rehash of matter that had appeared everywhere else, but is a fresh, original work, made after full study of nearly all the preceding publications, and a great deal of independent research by the author himself. Scarcely any portion of the work is without its new matter, except the Greek text; and that contains the more important conjectural emendations of other editors, in the shape of foot-notes. The text followed is that given by Bryennios.

The Introduction contains an account of the discovery of the "Teaching," and of the manuscript in which it occurs; giving,

likewise, in a long foot-note, a sketch of the life and labors of Bishop Bryennios, the data for which were kindly furnished by the bishop's secretary, and which is substantially the same with that published a short time since in *THE INDEPENDENT*. In passing, the author stops to correct a current error relative to Bryennios's edition of the "Teaching," stating that its matter is written in ancient, not modern, Greek. Speaking of the publications called forth by the appearance of the "Teaching," the author remarks upon its reception in America in terms that are worth translating. After mentioning the scholarly quality of the German works, and their little effect on the German people, he proceeds:

"It was quite otherwise in America, where the text of the *Didachè*, transmitted by telegraph, was immediately reproduced in many newspapers, political or religious, and translated and commented upon in many separate pamphlets. [Here a footnote says that the edition of Hitchcock and Brown was published March 20th, and 5,000 copies sold the same day.] But, in that effervescence, scientific interest was far from holding the first place. The different sects all believed that they were going to find in the new document means of upholding their own pretensions and combating those of their neighbor-sects. The question of baptism, in particular, was made the order of the day; and, strangely enough, partisans and adversaries alike attempted to rest their different opinions upon the same passages.

"Let us hasten to say that, after that avalanche of works, too often mediocre, there have appeared in America some serious studies, scientific and independent. We are happy to notice one among the others which deserves to be placed alongside of the finest German monographs, and which appears to announce among our friends of the United States a theological development little known hitherto. It is due to the joint labor of Messrs. Stanhope Orris, Rendel Harris, Hall, and Craven. Dividing the different questions among themselves according to their aptitudes and their special studies, they have furnished a monograph which, while very learned, succeeds in being very clear and easy to consult." (A foot-note refers to the *Journal of Christian Philosophy*, in which those articles appear.)

The author acknowledges the kindness of various Americans, Englishmen, and Germans in furnishing him with many articles on the "Teaching"; but his bibliography is merely a select one, in tabular form, filling a little more than two pages.

The translation is very neat and spirited; the notes pertinent, not very voluminous, but containing much new matter, especially showing the indebtedness of the author of

* ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΙΒ' ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. *La Didachè ou l'Enseignement des Douze Apôtres. Texte Grec, retrouvé par Mgr. PHILOTHEOS BRYENNIOΣ, Métropolitain de Nicomédie, publié pour la première fois en France, avec un commentaire et des notes, par PAUL SABATIER, ancien élève de la Faculté théologie protestante de Paris. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, Société anonyme. 8vo, pp. 167.*

the "Teaching" to the son of Sirach. The troublesome places are very well resolved, but not in a unique manner, the neatness of the translation appearing in familiar spots throughout. As a whole, the translation and notes are not surpassed by any work of like compass. After the translation comes the Historical and Critical Study in eight sections, treating severally of the catechetical instruction, baptism, fasting and prayer, the eucharist, spiritual gifts, and ecclesiastical offices, deacons and bishops, events at the end (of the world), and the date and origin of the work.

It is impossible to abstract the matter of the notes and the "study"; for it is presented almost in abstract, and is very rich and full. But the whole plan of treatment, whether in detail or as a whole, is different from that of any other edition. In general the author looks at it from the Jewish side, considering that, when Christians first became such, under Christ's own ministry, they silently kept the non-characteristic portions of the order and service in which they were brought up, and emphasized at first only the obvious matters in which Christianity differed from Judaism. And he has made some such study of the "Teaching," with its catechetical portion, its prayers, its baptism, its eucharist, etc., that many others have

le with regard to the Jewish elements in the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, and the other teachings of Jesus. Following in this line everywhere, drawing on the Talmud and other Jewish sources, the author has brought to light an overwhelming array of proofs to show that the "Teaching" is a very early production, and the production of a Jewish Christian. The conclusion respecting its very early date he had put forth last year; but now he does not hesitate to declare his opinion that the "Teaching" was written early in the last half of the first century; even before the great missionary journeys of Paul!

As between our author and those who put the "Teaching" later than the Epistle of Barnabas, the case seems clear. But it is not necessary that the date be quite so early as the impetus of the author's argument carries him. A like pressure of argument would put the composition of the Book of the Acts earlier than Paul's earlier Epistles. However, the author's use of his argument must be conclusive with those writers who, like Renan, have thought the Lord's Supper to be a development out of the *agape*, which itself was a development

from the fraternal Jewish meal, with the bread and cup which were blessed thereat. M. Sabatier is inclined to consider the cup of the Lord's Supper as the *extraordinary* "cup of blessing," and the cup of the *Didache's* eucharist as that of the other more ordinary meal. And here it may be mentioned that the author endeavors to trace the catechesis, the baptism, the fasting, prayer and eucharist, from the Jewish practices, of which they are adaptations or modifications, down as far as tradition or order appears settled or tangible. Of intensest interest is the discussion of these points; and hardly less so that of the remaining subjects. The whole work is very luminous, and its reading will make the "Teaching" a new document for most of those who are already familiar with its text and the commentaries upon it. No work upon the subject gives us a better or fairer picture of primitive Christianity, its nurses and its cradle. The work is unique, and cannot be neglected without loss.

Confident in the strength of his conclusions, the author has not attempted to do over again the work of others, whether in Germany or America. He is little indebted, apparently, to works on the "Teaching" that have appeared in England, though greatly indebted to English researches on other subjects. He has thought it unnecessary to make a separate study of the style and vocabulary of the "Teaching," referring to one made in the *Journal of Christian Philosophy*, of April, 1884, as sufficient, and showing that the vocabulary takes us back to the time when the New Testament writings were composed, or not far therefrom. It will be noticed that M. Sabatier differs from Canon Spence in respect to date. The latter puts it later than the destruction of Jerusalem; but M. Sabatier considers the question, and deliberately puts it earlier.

It is not to be supposed that the last word has yet been spoken on all points connected with the "Teaching"; it is understood, indeed, that Mr. Taylor, the author of a remarkable edition of the "Pirke Aboth," has in preparation an edition of the "Teaching" on the same general lines as this of M. Sabatier; but the present work has raised a torch which is an honor to France, and an honor not at all dimmed by his present settlement within the boundary of Germany.

[J. H. Hale?]

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THE DIDACHE ONCE MORE.*

AN edition of the "Teaching of the Apostles" has long been intended by Dr. Schaff, and considered by him as an essential supplement to his "Church History," though it is now issued by a different publisher. The work is, therefore, on a somewhat different line from most others, and in many respects to be judged differently. Its plan includes much more than the "Teaching" itself, though it is not the most voluminous edition of the "Teaching" in existence. It is dedicated, by permission, to Bishop Bryennios, whose portrait (the same cut that appeared some weeks ago in *Harper's Weekly*) serves as a frontispiece. The volume is further adorned with a picture of the "Jerusalem Monastery of the Most Holy Sepulchre" in Stamboul, where the manuscript containing the *Didachè* was found, with two photo-engravings from the manuscript, which show less and look somewhat rougher (as photo-engravings of type and script always do) than the photographs of the same matter published by Johns Hopkins University, though the copy, in common Greek type, corrects a typographical omission in that publication. It also contains the account of the life of Bishop Bryennios, which has already (substantially) appeared in THE INDEPENDENT, with the original data thereof in Greek, and a photo-engraved *fac simile* of a letter of Bishop Bryennios. To all is added also a somewhat select bibliography, with descriptions fuller than usual of editions and publications called forth by the discovery of the *Didachè*, and copies of illustrations, found in works on other subjects, and taken from ancient pictorial representations of baptism.

The work opens with a chapter on the Jerusalem Monastery, which is not a description, nor new, but in place here. The account of the manuscript, following, is one of the few which gives the correct spelling of "Cassoboli," though in one instance it is wrong by a misprint. The remainder of the preliminaries are brief, but

they show the rhetorical spur of enthusiasm. Almost insensibly the author passes from the preliminaries to a discussion of the *Didachè* as a church manual, breaking his matter up into short chapters, except that the one on baptism is very long, and treats mainly of later times. The chapter on baptism expresses, of course, the author's views; and he finds *trine immersion* as the form sanctioned in the *Didachè*, apparently from its direction of *trine affusion*, or else from an inference from the baptismal formula, coupled with the doctrine of later Christian fathers. Accordingly, the document would convict the Baptists of heresy in not immersing three times. Now and then a matter is inserted which ought not to be there, as the copying of Dr. Hitchcock's "*amamûd*," (p. 43, second foot-note) about which there is some misprint, or something else wrong, and for which it will be a puzzle to find any "good authority." So, in references to changes alleged in England, etc., "from immersion to pouring and from pouring to sprinkling," (p. 52) the statement that the Westminster Assembly of Divines "decided by a close vote of twenty-five to twenty-four in favor of sprinkling" is a little wrong. The vote was, in substance, on the question whether, sprinkling (or pouring) being conceded to be the proper mode of baptism, immersion was to be recognized as equally proper. This chapter presents Dr. Schaff as quite opposite to Dr. Hitchcock in his views of the New Testament mode of baptism; and Dr. Schaff hardly does justice to the common argument of the anti-immersionists. The assertion, on pages 56, 57, that "the

Baptists and Quakers were the first organized Christian communities which detached salvation from ecclesiastical ordinances, and taught the salvation of unbaptized infants and unbaptized but believing adults" is a trifle startling, and needs some interpretation, in nearly every term of the proposition, in order to pass unquestioned. The statement that "Westcott and Hort, with some of the oldest authorities, read βαπτίζονται . . . for the received text βαπτίσωνται" in Mark vii, 4, needs a little modification. The reading was known and rejected long ago by other critics, was temporarily adopted by Tischendorf in some of his texts (*e. g.*, Triglott and earlier *editiones academicæ*), but afterward rejected; while in Westcott and Hort the reading has the alternative in the margin as one they consider so nearly probable as to

* THE OLDEST CHURCH MANUAL, CALLED THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. The *Didachè* and Kindred Documents in the original, with translations and discussions of post-apostolic teaching, baptism, worship, and discipline; and with illustrations and *fac similes* of the Jerusalem Manuscript. By PHILIP SCHAFF. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 8vo, pp. viii, 301. Price, \$2.00.

render their absolute decision impossible. How easily the former might have been formed from the latter in copying an ancient text (especially by a scribe used to immersion as the ordinary form of baptism, but seeing that immersion was impossible here) any palæographer can tell; while the reverse change is by no means so easy to account for.

Passing by the rest of the discussion of church order, the chapter "the *Didachè* and the Scriptures" seems so full as to be a little strained. If the writer of the *Didachè* knew the Apocalypse (and yet wrote as Dr. Schaff thinks, at some time from A. D. 90—100), and if the fact is established in the way Dr. Schaff follows, it would seem that almost anything else could be proved. Dr. Schaff, however, says that the "resemblances are remote indeed," and probably would not wish his arguments to be taken as more than suggestions. In the "Style and Vocabulary," Greek scholars would probably not follow the author in considering *κυριακή* as a non-New Testament word, merely because the adjective has no substantive expressed in the *Didachè*. In his list of New Testament words not used in the New Testament sense" he includes *ἀνταπόδομα*, giving it the meaning of "revenge"; but he renders it in the New Testament sense ("reward") in his translation. In his comment on *λύτρωσις* he puts the *Didachè* on a Procrustean bed which would lop off the heads and feet of most Greek classic authors. The truth is that the *Didachè* uses tropical language of just one grade higher than the ordinary English translations. It makes good sense to translate literally: "Through thy hands thou shalt give redemption of thy sins."

The time of composition is considered by Dr. Schaff to be a little earlier than A. D. 100, its place Palestine, or Syria; perhaps either Antioch or Jerusalem. After the preliminary discussions, whose chief characteristic is their connection with later Church history, there follow the text of the *Didachè* itself, with translation and notes, and an enthusiastic excursus by Dr. B. B. Warfield, which builds too much on narrow foundations, even going so far as to surmise that the plural designation of the "Teachings" by Eusebius and his followers may be taken to indicate the existence of variant texts; then the parallels in Barnabas, Hermas, the Apostolical Church Order (the tract called "*Dua Via vel Judicium Petri*," by Hilgenfeld); the same from the Coptic, translated by Tattam (not

in the original, as might be supposed from a hasty look at the title-page of the book), and the seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions. In all these parallel documents, the closer parallels with the *Didachè* are noted by appropriate type, both in the Greek and in the English.

The correct text of the *Didachè* follows the manuscript more closely than even Bryennios, putting variants and conjectures in the margin, along with Scripture allusions and quotations. The translation is generally *very* good; though it is hard to justify "from our own blessings" in I, 5, considering the order of words in the Greek, which refer the "own" to the "Father," while otherwise it might possibly go *grammatically*, but not intelligibly, with *παῶσι*—unless, perhaps, Dr. Schaff has recognized the logical difficulty, and taken the bull by the horns in a paraphrase. In VI, 2, "thou shalt be perfect" is probably a slip for "thou wilt be perfect." A misprint or two cannot be helped; but it is

unfortunate on p. 202, where a former translation is cited as "*working into* [instead of *unto*] *the mystery of the church in the world*," and also on p. 166, where *κοδράντης*, *quadrans* (farthing) is explained as "a quarter of an ass." The Roman *as* is well enough anglicized, and *ace* may stand for *assarium* in one of its senses; but the double-s in this case is misplaced. Such harmless misprints as *ἰθρῶ* for *ἰδρῶ*, p. 99, are to be reckoned among the unavoidable things.

The peculiar value of this edition consists first, in its main aim as a supplement to the author's "Church History," and its unceasing allusions to and connections with later history; second, in its coming so late in the series of editions of the *Didachè* and its industrious compilation from all sources (for a multitude of matters, however, it was impossible to give credit to former investigators or laborers without swelling the volume enormously), and its references to other works, thus supplying the means of going to other sources for matters which the author treats less fully; and third, for its pictorial illustrations and *fac similes*, and its matter respecting Bishop Bryennios. The book would have been richer had it contained a more extended description of the monastery, especially of its library.

How far this work will supersede others is a question to be settled more by the student's need than otherwise. There is scarcely one of the larger editions that

does not contain matter peculiar to itself, and scarcely one that the thorough student would not wish to have. None of them furnishes a better guide to other sources than the present one, nor has more matter extraneous to the main subject. Some others are fuller in the matter of text and commentary, in the strict character of an edited edition, and some others are fresher in certain lines of independent thought. This one never forsakes its main purpose of elucidating the progress of the organized Church, not even in its notes on the text. It has reaped much fruit from former editions, and gathered a desirable amount together which would otherwise be scattered fragments; but its gleanings from other fields have not interfered with its own proper harvest in the field of Church history.

J. H. Hall

WE can imagine how ashamed a scholar like Prof. Frederic Gardiner (for the Episcopal Church is not devoid of scholars) must feel to see in the chief organ of his denomination such a paragraph as the following, by Prof. William Adams, D.D., of Nashotah Theological Seminary, on the "Teaching of the Apostles":

"When this book first came before me I wrote upon it an article, to be found in *The Churchman* of April 12th. I had not then the Greek text as edited by Bishop Bryennios. I now have this. I have read it carefully, and my opinion is unchanged. It is an apocryphal book, and of no value whatsoever."

When the book of Bryennios came to this country Professor Gardiner was one of the first to see its value, and translated the "Teaching" for *The Churchman*. Dr. Adams read the translation, and, without having seen the Greek text, which was then accessible in the Union Seminary edition, pronounced against the work; and he now repeats that it is of no value. In so doing he simply writes himself down an incompetent scholar, who knows nothing about the subject, and is not fit to teach in a theological seminary.

The notes of Bryennios, if the Professor is able to read them, ought to be sufficient to convince any unprejudiced mind of the genuineness and value of the "Teaching," and of its great antiquity. On that subject there is, as we anticipated when we first introduced it to the American public, absolutely no difference of opinion in Germany, France, Great Britain and America. The vote has already been taken. We have on our table Von Gebhardt and Harnack's edition, just received, whose "*Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*" is a chief standard authority of the very earliest ecclesiastical writings. We have also Hilgenfeld's edition, who has introduced it, learnedly annotated, into a new edition of his "*Novum Testamentum extra Canonem Receptum*." Both of these authorities accept it fully as being the very same ancient document of which Eusebius and Athanasius speak, and a discovery whose importance cannot be overrated. The scholars

of the English Church, whom Professor Adams ought to respect, like Professor Wadsworth and Canon Farrar, say the same thing. There is no question that the date of its composition cannot be later than the second century, and the doubt is whether it does not go back to the first. That depends on whether it shall prove to be earlier or later than the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas. That it is earlier than the Apostolic Constitutions, and than what is called by the various designations of "Two Ways," "Judgment of Peter," and the "Constitutions of Clement," and that these are developments of it, is beyond question.

DEAN REICHEL, who has been called the most learned dignitary of Irish Episcopacy, has a paper on the "Teaching of the Apostles" in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, in which he says that this new discovery "makes the old controversy about the divine right of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism obsolete." Recognizing this as probably the most ancient document after the New Testament, if not, indeed, older than some parts of the New Testament, he says that the ecclesiastical organization it presents answers to no ecclesiastical organization now existing.

"Its bishops and deacons are, of course, the same as the Presbyterian bishops and deacons of the Philippian Church; but its prophets are like no subsequent order, and its apostles are a kind of itinerating missionaries, whose rapid passage from place to place (they are forbidden to stay longer than two nights anywhere) throws a marvelous light on the extraordinary rapidity with which Christianity over-spread the Roman Empire like wildfire."

This last suggestion as to the effect of this rapid itinerating is an interesting one. We do not remember anything just like it in modern missions, although our missionaries are recognizing the great value of their itinerating tours, which some of them, at least in India, carry on on a large scale. We commend the Dean's candid and scholarly recognition of the evident meaning of the now famous old document to the Nashotah Professor, who denies its antiquity because it is less hierarchical than Irenæus, and to those other Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Congregational critics who, with such amazing and amusing unanimity, each discover their own polity exactly pictured out in the "Teaching." A new document like this is to be studied with impartiality, with no attempt to make ecclesiastical capital out of it.

A RECOVERED DOCUMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

Διδαχὴ τῶν Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων ἐκ τοῦ Ἱεροσολυμιτικοῦ χειρογράφου νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδιδομένη . . . ὑπὸ Φιλόθεου Βρυεννίου μητροπολίτου Νικομηδείας. (Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει.)

THERE has always been great difficulty in settling what the original documents were out of which the so-called "apostolical constitutions" were put together. Of the four parts often assigned, Bickell conjectured that

the seventh book, which largely coincides with the first part of the book called "The Two Ways," or "The Judgment of Peter," came from some early writing, standing in close connexion with the latter part of the Epistle of Barnabas. This early writing Archbishop Bryennius thinks he has discovered in the document called "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," which he has printed from the Jerusalem MS. of the year 1056 (now at Constantinople), which contains the epistles of Clement and Barnabas in their complete Greek form.

The document itself is based largely on the Epistle of Barnabas, partly, perhaps, also on the "Shepherd" of Hermas (though this is less certain), and is essentially the same work as that referred to by Eusebius, Athanasius, and Nicephorus. The first five chapters are meant for the instruction of catechumens; the rest is a "Church and House book of the ancient Christians," as Bunsen named it in the second volume of his *Christianity and Mankind*, and is equally valuable for what it ordains and for what it abstains from ordaining. Some rules are laid down; much is left to Christian freedom. We can already see "the Christian school and the Christian congregation, Christian worship and Christian life;" but there is little that can be used for controversial purposes, any more than there is in the Catacombs. The simplicity and common-sense of the instruction is remarkable. In almsgiving we should know to whom we are giving, and give through the church officers, who know the needs of each. The author would have approved of Aristotle's constant formula, "always regard the person, the time, the amount, the manner," &c.—a formula which Clement of Alexandria adopts. Now we should say, Do not give to tramps, but give through the clergy, district visitors, scripture readers, relieving officers, and so on. Again, men are not pressed beyond their strength:

"If thou canst bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou canst not bear it, do what is in thy power. . . . In the congregation thou shalt confess thy transgressions, and shalt not come to thy prayers with an evil conscience" (see Ps. xxxv. 18).

In baptizing,

"if thou hast no living [fresh] water, dip into other water; and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm water; and if thou hast neither, pour water thrice on the head in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit."

At the Thanksgiving (Eucharist) thus thank ye:

"First for the cup; we thank thee our Father for the holy vine of David thy servant which thou madest known to us through Jesus thy servant [παιδός]. To thee the glory for ever. And for that which is broken; we thank thee our

for ever. Thou, Almighty Master, didst create all things for thy name, gavest food and drink to men for enjoyment that they might thank thee, and to us thou didst grant spiritual food and drink and eternal life through thy servant. Before all things, we thank thee for thy power. To thee the glory for ever. Remember, Lord, thy church, to deliver it from all evil, and perfect it in thy love. . . . But permit ye the prophets to give thanks as much as they will. . . . And concerning the apostles and prophets according to the rule of the Gospel so do. And let every apostle coming to you be received as the Lord, and he shall not remain a day, but if there be need the second day also, but if he remain three he is a false prophet. . . . On the Lord's Day gather together, break bread and give thanks, and confess your sins that your sacrifice may be pure. . . . Elect for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and not covetous, and true and tried, for they too minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers."

Thus teaching is still carried on by men who have the gifts of the spirit, and who travel about to preach; but the practical work of management and of charity is entrusted to bishops and deacons, whom each church elects for itself as its settled managers.

What date and place can we assign to the Treatise? The tone is early, especially in what concerns the ministry and the Eucharist, and baptizing in "living water"—i.e., of rivers or springs. The author says we must not fast, as the hypocrites (i.e., Jews) do, on the second and fifth day of the week, but on the fourth and on the preparation (Friday). Again, such references as that to offering the first fruits for charity may show that he was connected with the early Jewish Christian Church. There is still also a strong expectation of the Second Advent being near. The author does not name himself, or refer the book to famous names of prophets or apostles, as so many early apocryphal works do, and as the author of the "Apostolical Constitutions" does; his is the simple tone of an earnest teacher, "My son, do thus; this is the way of life." He is not aware of much heresy, except the practical heresy of covetousness and false desires. He does not refer by name to the books of Scripture, but seems to allude to several passages from St. Matthew and a few from St. Luke and St. Paul. He gives the Lord's Prayer more in accordance with the Textus Receptus than with the Vatican MS., but reads $\delta \epsilon \nu \tau \omega \sigma \upsilon \rho \alpha \nu \omega$, omits $\tau \eta \varsigma$ before $\gamma \eta \varsigma$ (as Vat.), reads $\tau \eta \nu \delta \phi \epsilon \iota \lambda \eta \nu$, and has at the end only $\eta \delta \upsilon \nu \alpha \mu \iota \varsigma \kappa \alpha \iota \eta \delta \acute{o} \xi \alpha$ (as also in chap. ix.). He is perhaps following some liturgical source rather than St. Matthew. But farther on he uses Matt. vii. 6: $\mu \eta \delta \acute{\omega} \tau \epsilon \tau \acute{o} \alpha \gamma \iota \omega \nu \tau \circ \iota \varsigma \kappa \upsilon \sigma \iota$. In one place he uses the expression $\mu \alpha \rho \alpha \nu \alpha \theta \acute{\alpha}$ from 1 Cor. xvi. 22, and Prof. Wordsworth has suggested that the book may have been written

Father for the life and knowledge which thou madest known to us through Jesus thy servant. To thee the glory for ever. As this which is broken was scattered upon the mountains and became one by being brought together, so let thy church be brought together from the uttermost parts of the earth into thy kingdom, for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever; . . . and after ye are filled, thus thank ye; We thank thee, Holy Father, for thy holy name which thou didst settle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou madest known to us through Jesus thy servant. To thee the glory

at Corinth or some Greek church. Some Pauline church is most probable, which used mainly the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the date may be some way on in the second century (if Hermas used our book, and not *vice versa*). Bryennius puts it between 120 and 160, and thinks there are some traces of Gnosticism and Montanism in it; but the proof is of the slightest. The interest of the book is great, for it helps us to see how works like the "Apostolical Constitutions" were gradually built up, early writings incorporated, and

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.*

It is now little more than a year since the American theological world was startled by the alleged discovery of a new document belonging to the sub-apostolic age. The present publication of a new American edition of the text of this now world-famous treatise, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, affords an opportunity briefly to note the results of a year's criticism of the document.

Published in 1883 through Boutyra of Constantinople by the discoverer, Philotheos Bryennios, the Greek metropolitan of Nicomedia, the Teaching has for more than twelve months been subjected to the closest critical scrutiny by German, French, English, and American scholars. The profoundest criticism of the document has come from Germany; the widest popular interest has been displayed in America, where the Teaching may almost be said to have been seized out of the hands of patristic scholars, and utilized at once for polemical purposes by denominational apologists. Nor was this one-sided method of discussion wholly to be regretted. It insured a kind of criticism to which the document was not subjected by Continental European scholars (with the exception, perhaps, of the Roman Catholic Bickell), and to which it was only partially subjected in England. The latter country made no contribution of first importance, either from the critical or the polemical standpoint. Professor Wordsworth, Bishop Lightfoot, and Canon Spence directed scholarly attention to the treatise; but Archdeacon Farrar's translation of it was notably disappointing in respect of Greek scholarship.

The results of a year's criticism have been directly in favor of the sub-apostolic origin of the newly recovered document. The series of sensational articles which appeared in the *Boston Advertiser*, and which for a

*ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, recently discovered and published by Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia. Edited with a translation, introduction, and notes. By Roswell D. Hitchcock and Francis Brown, professors in Union Theological Seminary. A new edition revised and greatly enlarged. 8vo, pp. cxv, 85. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, \$2.00.

time shook the faith of some who were not familiar with the evidence in favor of the Teaching, have been shown to be the work of an ill-informed and culpably careless newspaper correspondent; and they would not have been mentioned here but for the impression which they created outside the circle of patristic students. The impartial scrutiny of all the evidence available, on the part of original investigators, has resulted in pushing the probable date of the Teaching nearer to the apostolic age than was at first conceded. The years A. D. 90 and A. D. 150 probably mark the points within which the date of the document will ultimately be fixed. In the case of the parallel passages in the epistle of Barnabas and the Teaching, a greater tendency is shown to regard the text of the Teaching as the earlier of the two. The opinion has also gathered strength that we must look to Egypt for the origin of the Teaching; and a strong argument—though not, we think, a conclusive one—can be urged in favor of this opinion. In point of fact, the Teaching has, so far, not only come out of the fires of criticism unscathed, but an earlier date and a more important place in early Christian literature is now assigned to it than was originally claimed for it by Bryennios himself. Krawutzcky, who refuses to accept this as the original of his now famous restoration, stands practically alone among scholars.

The new American edition by Professors Hitchcock and Brown calls for no extended criticism. It is the completed work of which the first edition issued last year by the same authors was merely a hasty outline. At several places the former translation has been modified; among others at the difficult passage in the sixteenth chapter, where the rendering of *ὑπὸ* (*hypo*), line 311, as "from under," first suggested by The Sunday School Times, has been adopted. There is a full introduction covering the history of the Teaching, and discussing the question of the relationship of the document to other early Christian literature. In matter and style this introduction is popular as well as scholastic. While the original Greek is freely quoted, it may be said in general that this introduction contains in English the passages from early Christian literature, quoted in the edition of Bryennios in the original Greek. The labors of the Germans receive also a fair share of attention.

In comparison with the hastily prepared notes which appeared in last year's edition, the notes in the present volume are full and satisfactory. They cover sufficiently the questions started by the linguistic peculiarities of the Greek of the Teaching; and all non-biblical words, and biblical words used in a non-biblical sense, are carefully indicated.

The volume is, of course, not free from minor errors. As a sample we may instance the rendering of *τῶν Παύλου Πράξεων ἡ γραφή, ὃ τε λεγόμενος Ποιμὴν* by "the Acts of Paul, the writing which is called Shepherd"—a rendering which must surely be an oversight, as the words "the writing" belong by construction to the preceding genitive. The

citation of Cremer for Lucian's use of the word 'ὁδός (*hodos*) is a little surprising in view of the fact that the passage is quoted in full from Lucian in Bryennios's original edition, and that the meaning ascribed to it by Cremer can be found in any good modern lexicon, and even in the venerable Schleusner, who also makes the reference to Lucian.

In an appendix Professor Philip Schaff contributes a useful Digest of the Didache Literature, which covers all important European and American notices to date. Professor Schaff's ascription of the authorship of The Sunday School Times version, following, apparently a guess by The Independent, is only partially correct. The version was the joint work of two translators—of the editorial staff (Professor Isaac H. Hall and Mr. John T. Napier)—not of one; each having taken one-half, and the two going over the whole together.

Professors Hitchcock and Brown's new edition of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles is the most complete edition yet published in America. Its full notes and introduction, its clear Greek text, and its satisfactory summary of the literature of its subject, fit it for use in the theological seminary. The English translations from patristic literature in the introduction, and the translation of the Teaching itself which faces the Greek text, make it suitable for use by the general reader also.

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